THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 6 Autumn · 1937 No. 4

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Published Quarterly for General Circulation by

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is published four times a year, December, March, May and October by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. The annual subscription is $2 (Canada, $2.25; foreign $2.50). Editorial and business offices, 145 West 55 Street, New York, N. Y. Publication office, Federal and Nineteenth Streets, Camden, New Jersey. Entered as second-class January 27, 1932 at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States of America. Copyright, 1937 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.
Volume 6. No. 4. October 1937

NOTE—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach a stamped, addressed envelope.

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AUTUMN · 1937 VOLUME 6 · No. 4

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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The American Scholar

Fall · 1937 Vol. 6 · No. 4

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From Political Parties to Civil War

C. DELISLE BURNS

IN THE old days the excuse for violence and fraud was "reasons of state." In our more advanced age the excuse is party advantage. The change has been brought about by those who are so superior to mere "party politics" that they aim at suppressing all parties opposed to their own. In the old days it was believed, at least among those who claimed to be civilized, that public discussion between those who held opposing views would promote the discovery of what it was best to believe and best to do. Now it is assumed by important groups in every country and by the dominant group in Russia, Germany and Italy that what they believe is so true that unbelievers must be punished as heretics for their culpable ignorance or moral turpitude. On the one side the undoubted evils of poverty and oppression provide the incitement to class war, that is to civil war, as a policy. Communists believe in the crudest conceptions of Karl Marx in spite of the fact that he wrote in an earlier age and in the British Museum. On the other side it is believed by "the best people" that "the mob" will seize power if "the forces of law and order" do not kill or imprison their leaders as a preventive measure.

Civil war is indeed an alternative to democratic methods; but to say that it is inevitable because of the wickedness of property-owners or the ignorance of manual workers is like treating war between nations as inevitable because of the wickedness of foreigners. If any group of men and women among one's fellow citizens are assumed to be beyond the reach of reasoning or the appeal to justice, then civil war is accepted as inevitable and the only reasonable policy is to prepare for it. The preparation for it may be, on one side, continual small strikes or stoppages of work or it may be, on the other side, the arrest of "agitators" who say that the poor are oppressed by

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the rich. It is not certain indeed that a tyrannical police or the advocates of sporadic disorder are aware that they are bringing on civil war. It is a useful metaphor to say that "class" divisions are more important than "national" unity and it is a quasi-scientific creed which asserts that all history is merely or mainly a conflict of classes. On the other hand it is useful to say that "the nation" must be held together by armed force against revolution, on the assumption that "the nation" means the established social order. But these phrases are in reality the small clouds which foretell the same storm—civil war. Small acts and small words may lead where those who use them do not intend to go. In some nations, as in France, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and the United States civil war between property-owner and manual worker has not yet occurred, although civil war has been fought in several of them —in England first, in France next, and then in the United States, on different issues. But in Russia, Germany and Italy a party dictatorship is now the result of the victory of one party over others in a veiled or open civil war. In these countries state-worship is now identified with party-worship, for the party is the state and those who are not in the party are subjects, not citizens. Those monstrous growths of party politics in non-democratic societies—the Fascist and Nazi parties and the Communist party in Russia—are naturally advocates of the method which has led to their own success. And that method is supported by them in countries other than their own. Civil war in every country is the policy of those whose power is based upon victory in a civil war. The question for us in Western Civilization therefore is one of whether our party differences also are to lead to civil war among us.

If that is not to be the end we cannot afford to wait until party differences weaken the hold of all governmental authority upon the minds of men before adopting a decisive policy. In the German Republic the hesitation to arrest Hitler and the impossibility of trusting the Reichswehr had shaken the moral authority of government long before the tricks of

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von Papen and the senility of Hindenburg opened the door to party dictatorship. And behind the sporadic violence of Nazi gangs lay the memory of "Communist" gangs in the disturbances of 1919. Similarly in Italy an old Marxist, Mussolini, took advantage of the inertia of government and the tendency to appeal to force on "the left" to go over to "the right." In Russia the dissolution of all moral authority in the ruins of Tsarist autocracy left the field open for any small group which could use force consistently. When the traditional system of government has lost all moral authority most people in any country will fly to the shelter of any armed force. The party allegiance of enthusiasts is easily enlisted against a system of government if that is a possible means of overcoming the opposite party. And so the issue in certain crises appears to be merely a question of when the government of the day ought to use force to resist appeals to force against a system of government. It is generally agreed that armed force ought to be used by any legitimate government against direct rebellion. But the right of rebellion remains, and its ground is the denial that some particular government is legitimate. Either some particular government is said not to fulfil the primary function of government in maintaining order or such a government is said to be using its power for the advantage of one "class" or "interest" against others in the state. Thus Mussolini first and afterwards Hitler maintained that "the government" against which they protested could not keep order; and that is the excuse also of the advocates of the military rebellion in Spain. The proof of incompetence in the government was supplied by the gang-violence of Mussolini, Hitler and the Spanish militarists. But probably the real source of the success of Fascist rebellion in Germany and Italy was the discovery by armed gangs that those in control of a quasi-democratic government will hesitate to use armed force. Such men have in practice hesitated not so much because of any doubts as to the legitimacy or the usefulness of force but because they could not trust the officer class against a Fascist rising. In any country

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in which the army is closely related to the nation the officer class tends to be sympathetic with the established social and economic order, whatever that may be, and the dominant opinion in an army, navy or air force is that of the commanders. The plea that a quasi-democratic government cannot keep order, therefore, is fairly easy to maintain if any Fascist gang is sufficiently reckless in its first moves. And besides, the disorder caused by reckless Fascist gangs can always be put down to the violence of "Communists." It is an old game to say that "the other fellow began it." On the other hand the plea that any government stands for a particular "class" or "interest"—in plain words that it is a "capitalist" conspiracy—is used to excuse rebellion on the left. It can be shown that a conservative party in control of governmental authority is using its position to support the interests of the capital-owners against those of the toiling masses. If that is *all* it is doing then rebellion appears to be justified, for it is not then a legitimate government standing for all its citizens. Thus, in attacking a "class," platform oratory based upon obvious social evils may undermine government itself. And not only platform orators are to blame. When some academic political scientists discuss government in terms of "power" only or of "economic classes" they weaken the moral authority of any system of government and assist in transforming party differences into civil war. If you are not willing to obey the government unless your own party is in control of it you are in fact, even if unconsciously, advocating civil war. And the suggestion that property-owners will not yield to claims for justice but only to superior force is one of the sources of the appeal to Fascism in fear of "the reds." It is an historical fact of some importance that "Communism" and its gospel of class-war as a policy preceded Fascism. A party dictatorship which repudiated democracy and impartial justice and civil rights as "bourgeois superstitions" was established in Russia before Mussolini succeeded in Italy or Hitler in Germany. The advocacy of "preventive" war always follows an appeal to any other kind of war and conse-

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quently if the left is preparing for a class war the right will move first. Force calls more force out of the depths.

The advocates of civil war, however, whether to suppress Bolshevism or to overthrow Capitalism, always use ethical phrases in their propaganda. Neither side ventures to assert that its sole aim is its own supremacy, for the victory of its adherents is assumed to involve the establishment of right or justice. Bolshevism and Capitalism are words used by their opponents to represent not merely an opposing force but a fundamental moral evil, and thus the gospel of force in civil war is made to appear to be the preaching of justice. Moral fervor is to be found, therefore, both among Fascists and among Communists, and this moral fervor attracts the best among their followers. The youths who determine to destroy Bolshevists or to kill Capitalists are following an ideal and they would be the last to acknowledge that they are supporting a method which will inevitably destroy civilized life. They cannot see that war of any sort, as a conscious policy, produces more evil than it destroys or that stable and progressive government is never founded upon revolution. Conventional history misleads them. No revolution has ever succeeded in preventing a counter-revolution: no civil war has ever left a country at peace within itself. It is only the gradual closing of the wound, after years of exhaustion—moral and physical—that has restored the possibility of health. The French Revolution, for example, did not establish a French Republic but prepared a century of domestic and international unrest which ended in exhaustion. Again, the enthusiasts for Fascism or Communism cannot see that governments established by victory in civil war must necessarily use terror, refuse the rights to open trial, and in order to maintain themselves must prevent the public discussion of policy. That is to say, such governments cannot become governments of the rule of law and democracy. The idea that an infallible dictator can ever establish a democratic system of government is completely false. Civil war breeds tyranny, whichever side is victorious. The murder of Matteoti by Mussolini's

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men, of Hitler's friends by Hitler's men in 1934, and the killing of the "old Bolsheviks" by Stalin's men in 1936—all these are the natural results of a victory in a civil war, a victory which is never secure. Whatever the defects of party politics it has no such evil fruit as party dictatorship.

No country, however, is immune from the disease of dictatorship—quite apart from the fact that those countries which have already caught the disease are active in spreading it by their support of civil war abroad. Dictatorship in any country cannot fail to affect the situation in other countries—in the first place because every dictatorship fills neighboring countries with exiles. Russia now shelters Communists from Central Europe; Germany shelters members of the old régime of Russia; and the emigrés from Germany, Italy and Russia, expelled by the victory of opposite sides, find a home together in all democratic countries. These exiles influence different circles in the countries into which they have been driven and may embitter party feelings there. Again, the people under any dictatorship are prevented from hearing any news from abroad which may be inconvenient to their dictators and this makes them passive instruments in any foreign policy their dictators may choose to risk. Dictatorships can therefore afford to take greater risks of war than democratic governments. Again, the diplomatic officials of a dictatorship are agents not only of a government but of a party and they seek support in those political circles of the country of their residence which seem likely to be sympathic. In certain cases the embassies of all dictatorships may be centers for preparing civil war in foreign countries. But even without direct assistance from dictatorships the political parties in a democracy may drift towards civil war, owing to the changed "climate of opinion" created by the mere existence of governments abroad obviously based upon civil war. Admiration for "law and order" as established in Italy and Germany may tempt conservatives to advocate the methods by which such "law and order" have been obtained. How convenient it would be if there were no trade unions and

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no public criticism of the governing classes! Or on the other side Socialist Parties may be tempted by the improved status of workers in Russia to admire the methods of Bolshevism, for how convenient it would be if there were no capitalist employers and no public criticism of "the proletariat"! Thus the mere existence of dictatorship anywhere tends to increase the danger of civil war everywhere. And the spot where the germ may lodge in democratic countries is party politics.

In countries such as the United States where the political parties have not, at least recently, been divided on any fundamental principles—where party politics seem to be only an effort of two sides to have the advantage of office in turn—in such countries the danger of civil war seems remote. But even that tradition of the two-party system, as in the Tory-Whig politics of England in the 18th century, can survive only so long as the fundamental assumptions of both parties are the same. And a change in the general attitude towards fundamental assumptions usually causes the old party distinctions to change their nature. Thus the fundamental and probably unconscious assumptions about slavery when the Constitution of the United States was framed were no longer generally accepted in the 1850's and the issues of politics led to a Civil War. Similarly now in Great Britain the Liberal Party of the 19th century has disappeared, largely because the fundamental assumptions about the "working class," generally accepted even by workers at that time, are no longer regarded as valid by great numbers of men and women. The working class no longer regard themselves as passive voters for the support of ambitious lawyers or minor lords. The issues of politics have become much less a contest of parties for office and much more a conflict of principles. On the new assumption that manual workers can think for themselves the issue becomes one of reorganisation of the whole social system. The same thing has happened in France, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. And so far the opposing principles have not led to civil war although each side has already begun to call the other by names

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that are ominous. One side is watching for Fascism and the other for Communism among its opponents. Even in the United States it is prophesied that the "politics of the future will be class politics."[1] And "the passing of the old party politics," it is said, may be followed by adding to the Fascist and Communist alternatives a Party of "the Middle Class." If this means only that there is an alternative to the dominance of one class or the other a democratic system may survive; but if a "middle class" is conceived in the Marxian sense as a "closed system" then it is merely another source for civil war, when alliances have been formed by this middle class either on the right or on the left. In any case there seems to be a drift in party politics today towards the use of force on behalf of one party or the other.

With the danger of civil war before our eyes, even if it is not likely in our own country, it is time to review the assumptions upon which democratic governments depend. To state these assumptions may involve a repetition of platitudes but platitudes may express principles and it is quite possible that if all principles are allowed to remain below the level of consciousness they will cease to affect conduct before their disappearance is noticed. Democratic government can be undermined more easily than it can be destroyed by open attacks upon it for, like any other form of civilized life, in religion or the arts as well as in politics, its vitality depends upon "the climate of opinion." This is not a consciously accepted creed but an attitude of mind with a long, slow growth, perhaps of many generations, behind it. Therefore we must look below the surface to make the foundations of our system of government secure against civil war.

In the first place any government under a democratic system fulfills two quite distinct functions. It maintains, of course, the policy of the party which supports it by votes. But it also maintains a system of government, the continuance of which is as necessary for its own moral authority as it is for the pros-

[1] Professor A. N. Holcombe: *The New Party Politics*, 1935.

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pects of the opposition. Dictatorship is, in practice, the denial of the distinction between these two functions, and those who advocate or suggest dictatorship do not even understand the nature of this distinction, for they confuse the advancement of a policy with the maintenance of a system of government. All advocates of a "national" policy as opposed to any party policy, or of a "union sacrée" or of a "government of all good men," are advocates of dictatorships in disguise. They too fail to understand what a system of government is. In practice, however, in most democratic countries the police, for example, and the law-courts are used to maintain, by force if necessary, a system which may lead to the dethronement of the government of the day. It is the duty of any such government to use the police and the armed forces for that purpose. But in practice a change in social conditions or in a "climate of opinion" creates difficulties even in democratic countries. The government of the day may not be able to resist the temptation to use its prestige as the guardian of a system to push forward the party policy which is also committed to its care. The "National" Government in Great Britain, for example, has established tariffs for the advantage of the Conservative Party. And there is also a contrary danger. The "instruments" for the maintenance of a system may refuse to obey the orders of a government of the day to which its officer class is unaccustomed. It is, indeed, idle to pretend that in any country the civil service, the police or the armed forces are dehumanized mechanisms which will obey *any* orders. Thus either those in control of the system for the moment, the government of the day, or the instruments of the system, may lead to the overthrow of the system and the onset of civil war. We can guard against both dangers.

The second platitude, or principle for the avoidance of civil war, is that the opposition is responsible, as well as the government of the day, for the maintenance of the system. Nothing is more false than the statement that "the duty of an opposition is to oppose"; for indeed the first duty of an oppo-

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sition is to see that the system of government, by the use of which alone it can come to power, is maintained. And with this duty goes the need to support such policies of the government of the day as will make the opposition's policy possible when it is itself the government of the day. Therefore it was quite futile for the Labor opposition in Great Britain, for example, to oppose rearmament under the National government if the Labor Party will require arms for the use of its own policy when it comes to power. But that is a minor incident. The danger of all oppositions which arise out of a tradition of platform or pulpit oratory is that they remain, in their own minds, perpetually in opposition. Their followers do not in fact regard themselves as an alternative government. Indeed for the great majority any government is regarded as "They"—a sort of demi-god or devil outside themselves; and therefore when a Labor Government held office in Great Britain in 1924 and in 1929-1931 one of its difficulties was due to the attitude of "perpetual opposition" which had been traditional among trade unionist and labor orators. In any society the existence of a "governing class" makes it very difficult to use government for the supersession of such a class. England is less democratic in social customs than France or the United States: it is more "feudal" than "capitalist" in its social atmosphere. Its difficulties are therefore, in this matter, peculiar. But in every democratic system of government there is a tendency for great numbers of ordinary folk to disregard their own responsibility in the maintenance of the system as contrasted with support of a party. That responsibility must be felt more widely if the disease of civil war is to be avoided. The policy of any party must be more clearly understood by the members of that party to be distinct from the system of government which makes the expression of their views possible.

But what is meant by the system of government, which both the government of the day and an opposition in a democratic country are bound to maintain? It is not merely a constitution or the conventions or customs of a constitution. And on the

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other hand it is less than the whole social and economic system which surrounds and may have supported or originated the system of government. The system of government is the actual process of command and obedience, of influence flowing from "the people," by consent or control, towards the executive and legislature, and of reaction from these upon the body of "the people." In a democracy it involves public discussion and free criticism of policy, the rule of law and the possibility of changing those in authority without the use of armed force. On the other hand the system of government is not merely a method of preventing changes in social and economic relationships. Such changes have in fact occurred recently owing to the quite unintended effects of the radio, the cinema, the motor-car, more varied foodstuffs and clothing and more leisure for those who work for their living. The system of government may direct, modify or promote such changes. It cannot possibly resist them. Government may extend its activities but there will always be more social activities coming into existence than any government can control, for there is no given or fixed quantity of social relationships. What has to be maintained by all in a democratic tradition is the *method* by which government of any sort is carried on. That is the system. Not what we do but how we do it is in question although clearly certain methods (for example, public discussion) cannot produce certain results (for example, dictatorship).

A third principle, to prevent civil war arising out of party politics, is the spread of the habit of discussion of public affairs between those who hold opposing views. Both Communism and Fascism have arisen in countries in which a large number of people, unaccustomed to think at all about public affairs, have suddenly come to understand that public policy may be of the greatest importance to their private lives. Such people are only too glad to be relieved by an infallible dictator of the need to think of any policy at all. But even in countries where Protestantism in religion and a wide-spread education have affected the whole of life, the modern facilities for mass-suggestion in

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newspapers, radio and cinema make appeals to irrational emotions much easier. The instruments of popular education, like the instruments for war, have improved more quickly than the art of using them. The airplane may be used for bombing in war and the newspapers and radio may "bomb" the minds of men at peace. The survival of the habit of discussion, however, can be secured if the old-fashioned ideas of educational method are improved. No one has yet really "discovered" adult education, for it is still thought of as merely a supplement to school education. But only adults can understand certain problems—sexual relationships, for example, or occupations and vocations or "religious" freedom. And most political issues are of this kind, involving subjects and methods beyond the scope of traditional education and unintelligible to children. The technique of the education of adult citizens, through the use of modern appliances, has not yet been developed. To develop that technique in time is the only security against civil war.

Another principle is the re-interpretation of history. The whole of any community should by now feel that "history" has hardly begun: there is so much yet to be done. But we are cursed in public affairs by the historical past. Hitler's men go back to Thor and Odin; Mussolini thinks in terms of pre-Christian Rome. And even in democratic countries there is a "lag" in the historical imagination, especially with regard to foreign nations. Thus the French still think of the Germans as tribal levies and the English think of the French as a mixture of 18th century elegant frivolity and Napoleonic ambitions. The Americans seem to believe that England is still ruled by George III, and the majority of the English would prefer to believe that America is not yet "discovered." The teaching of history, however, seems now to be transferred from the bores in universities to the backwoodsmen of Hollywood; and perhaps the amorous adventures of the same "star" in different "historical" costumes will be less dangerous to peace than the dyspeptic resuscitation of obsolete controversies in the traditional text-books. In any case real history may trans-

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form society no less than applied science has done. If the people of any country knew the contemporary and not the past situation in other countries they would be less inclined to fight. And if our own country were regarded as still "in the making" and not as a mere store of traditions we should all be too busy at a common task to divide into factions for a civil war.

Again, we must resist over-simplification of the issues in public policy. The Marxian theory of "classes" and of historical development has completely misled "the left" in some European countries. It is obviously only a reversal of the too simple Hegelian dialectic, which is itself a version of "the will of God" in the crudest theory of predestination. But the real danger is that Western Civilization may be conceived only or mainly in terms of property-owning or income from labor. The *furor economicus* is upon us. Capitalism may be objectionable. But the humanitarian tendencies inherited from the 18th century and the fearless use of critical reasoning inherited from the 16th should not be forgotten. After all, education has improved in scope and method; and health has increased, owing to scientific discoveries and the art of medicine. Transport and communication have been developed, not by faith but by reasoning. The fine arts and religious organisation also are not unknown in the West. It would be childish, therefore, to confine our ideas of public policy within the narrow terminology of economics or to seek a "new order" by repudiating the whole of our tradition of civilized life, because some evils are caused by the productive system. The passions aroused by the sight of other people's riches or the fear lest we should lose what little we possess are not the only forces available for public policy. And if the whole social system is not likely to be remodelled by an economic change, neither is a change in the factors of production likely to make the heavens fall. The problems for public policy involved in the existence of malnutrition, of a scarcity of some abilities and a surplus in low cunning, of obsolete educational methods and medieval habits in housing, clothing or religious customs—

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such problems are not likely to be solved by a simple economic program. But it is crude economics which has driven men into civil war. The art of government does not consist in the sort of concentration upon contentious issues which will excite into madness those who hold opposite views. If we increase the number of different issues with which the public should be concerned and avoid reducing different problems to the same terms we can do something, therefore, to prevent party politics degenerating into a dog-fight. It is true that we need a "philosophy of life" or a "comprehensive outlook" as well as a program, and the "philosophy of life" embodied in democracy has not, indeed, been developed adequately. But we need not lose our heads in an all-absorbing enthusiasm when we seek to unite the different elements in the policy we support. Perhaps we shall save our own party from a drift towards civil war if we seek men of other parties in agreement with us, at least on some questions. Our interests should be wider than our controversies.

Finally the controversies of party politics may obscure the fundamental purposes for which all government exists. Such controversies are generally about the means, not the end. They are disputes about who shall have power, not about how power is to be used; and when the party politician seems to be talking about "ends" he is often using lofty words or resounding "platforms" only as an advertisement of his own excellence. Programs and "platforms" which the simple elector believe to be promises of action are often only means of attaining power, used by those who can easily find excuses for doing nothing when they have the power they wanted. Civil war may, therefore, arise not from the exacerbation of party politics but from its futility. After years of oratory covering inertia, thousands of ordinary men will welcome any action, however ill-considered, "to get a move on." The only means to prevent that result is a restoration of what in fact is a moral standard in the politics of a democracy. Party politicians are not wicked or selfish but they may be very blind. They may not see that

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in the quarrel about power, power itself may dissolve. They may assume that "the end" will take care of itself while they discuss only the means by which their party may attain power. But in fact "the end" evaporates entirely if no one thinks of it.

It is obviously a delusion that the advocates of dictatorships on the right or the left are aiming at anything else than power—as all rhetorical politicians are. When they have gained power by making promises, dictators as well as democratic politicians find excuses for not fulfilling their promises. But the credulity of ordinary folk is only an extreme form of a kindly inclination to believe other people until they are proved to be liars. The real solution of the difficulties which arise, in any form of government, from the desire for power is to be found in restating the old principle of all moral authority in government. It is a principle which has been obscured by professors as well as politicians, for it is a denial that the major issues in public policy are conflicts of "classes" or interests. In reducing questions of justice to a mere conflict of forces Karl Marx has done even more harm than Hegel.

The fundamental issue for democracy is that of authoritarian *versus* free society. Marxian dogma and Fascist dogma are united against the public discussion of public policy and the free criticism of those in authority. The issue is not which "class" shall have power but what anyone who has power shall do with it. He should not, in the democratic tradition, use it for himself or his "class" or his "interest" but for the whole community and through it for all men. That is to say, the moral principle holds good that justice is an adjustment of rights, not a victory of one force over another. The only method of justice is to give each man a "say" as to what he claims to be his rights. But no man, no class, no interest has any right to make its own claims the only test of its "rights." We cannot logically oppose war between nations as futile or unnecessary and at the same time advocate a war between "classes" as a means of obtaining justice. The method is as

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futile in one case as in the other—if the issue is moral. But if there are *no* moral issues in politics or government, then no government has any moral authority. We may be forced to obey but we cannot be *morally* obliged to obey if the claims to rights of any class or party are made to depend on the force they can use for their own advantage.

If, therefore, we are to prevent party politics from becoming civil war in any country we must repeat, in season and out of season, that the ultimate basis of all government is moral authority and that the ultimate issues of all politics also are moral, not conflicts of "power." An art of government, either in domestic or in foreign policy, which is only skill in getting the better of some other person or party cannot provide either stability or progress. The reason lies in the existence of certain moral "ends" or purposes, which inevitably rise out of any grave in which the cunning of the successful trickster or the victory of any class may have buried them. Men cannot be treated for long as merely natural forces. There is in them another kind of force, which is brought into play by the sight of injustice, cruelty, disorder or braggart tyranny. That force will sometimes move a man even against his own "interests" or "class" or nation. But normally, as well as ideally, it supports whatever claims are just—the justice of such claims being quite independent of the force behind their advocates.

Masaryk in *The Making of a State* has argued that the foundations of the democracy which he established in Czechoslovakia are moral. He quotes St. Paul (2 *Cor.* ch. 4): "We have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully." And he adds—"That is the program of the Republic and of Democracy, *sub specie aeternitatis*." The moral claims of any person or group or class or nation are not instruments of power—unless they are "used deceitfully"—but all power is merely an instrument for establishing the system by which alone rights can be made to depend upon agreement. To make that principle valid in practice is the only security against civil war.

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Consider the Butterfly

AUSTIN H. CLARK

WHAT is a butterfly? A butterfly may be described as the second and more attractive half of a dual life, of which the first half is represented by the caterpillar, an unprepossessing worm-like creature that lives only to eat. And in this special field it has few equals in the animal world. For a caterpillar must eat enough for two—itself, and the butterfly into which it changes. Though butterflies do feed, chiefly by sipping nectar from flowers, this in most cases is not really necessary. Their object the perpetuation of the race, they live solely to produce eggs and to distribute those eggs as widely as possible. All the emotions of a butterfly, therefore, have to do more or less directly with the succeeding generation.

First of all there is the mating. In most types of butterflies males are more numerous than females. Consequently rivalry is rampant. If you watch the yellow or orange butterflies course over a clover field you will notice that there is a tussle whenever two males meet, the two flying about each other for several seconds before going on their ways. Young males fresh from the chrysalis are bullied and hectored by the older and stronger males. In other kinds of butterflies these combats are quite violent. Two belligerent males whirl about each other with great speed until one of them gives up and flees, chased for some distance by the other, with no physical harm—only humiliation—seeming to result from the encounter. Many male butterflies assume possession—so far as concerns others of their kind—of a certain area, which they defend against all comers. Here they may be seen day after day perched on a favorite leaf or tree trunk from which from time to time they sally forth to make a circuit of their territory. Others assume possession of a strip of woodland road they constantly patrol, seeking trouble.

This habit of patrolling woodland roads and paths is very

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characteristic of our common mourning-cloak in early spring. Often it is seen thus engaged, flapping and sailing peacefully along several feet above the ground. But if another mourning-cloak appears instantly the whole scene changes and a fight takes place, short but lively. The intruder vanquished, the calm patrolling is resumed. Sometimes the mourning-cloak darts at other insects large enough to merit its attention and not infrequently it dashes at warblers or other of the smaller birds incautious enough to trespass on its territory. Often in the summer one of these same butterflies assumes possession of a willow bush in an open field from which it dashes out at passing insects, especially at the larger dragon-flies, to their great discomfiture.

Individual ownership of certain areas is common in certain groups of butterflies, especially in those related to the mourning-cloak and in many of the little hair-streaks. This sense of ownership, however, is confined wholly to the males. Among butterflies of other sorts there is no individual proprietorship but instead a sort of communal ownership, all the individuals of a given kind living more or less amicably together in the same field or region—as do our orange and yellow clover butterflies.

Some of the open-country butterflies regard certain small areas as a sort of tilting-ground. Such spots are usually more or less barren patches, often rocky, slightly higher than the ground about them and quite devoid of the food plant of the butterflies. Here the males congregate, flying about in a most provocative and aggressive way, constantly dueling with each other. Our common dusky skippers are devotees of such tilting-grounds. Their smaller relative, the gray and white tessellated skipper, also has special tilting grounds over which the males congregate and fight most viciously but in this case the areas are usually in meadows and generally near trees. More or less barren spots with small groves of trees, especially on low hills, serve the same purpose with certain swallowtails. For most open-country butterflies, however, any barren spot will serve.

But fighting is only the first and most obvious reaction from the natural rivalry of males common to all species of butterflies

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in which the males are more numerous than the females. On a muddy spot along the bank of a stream or on a road in summer it is common to see dozens of yellow or orange butterflies resting close together, engaged in sucking up moisture from the mud. As a concrete example of a puddle-butterfly let us take the common clouded sulphur or yellow clover butterfly, familiar to everyone in the eastern states. If you examine a company of these, sucking water from the mud, you will notice that all are males. And they are all fresh, recently emerged from the chrysalis. Yet in the fields nearby comparatively few of the numerous males are fresh. The reason for this is revealed by a study of the insects in the fields, especially in the early morning. Here one finds occasional males just out of the chrysalis, their wings still soft, on the clover flowers. These are feeding, or at least drinking, for very young butterflies must replace as soon as possible the water lost while lying inert within the chrysalis. But older and stronger males constantly pounce upon the fresh young ones, frightening them away to another flower. This hectoring habit finally drives the young males to seek the necessary water beyond the borders of the field in regions where there are no females and consequently no rivalry. Here they remain for two or three days.

The yellow clover butterfly, very common though never excessively abundant, furnishes a good example of one of Nature's ways of meeting the danger of over-population—prevented in this case by the quarrelsome nature of the males. If the insect becomes too numerous the constant squabbles of the males, by driving out the weaker, tend to reduce their number and also to reduce the number of successful matings. Consequently this butterfly has never and never will become a pest.

Often a serious pest in alfalfa fields is the western variety of this same butterfly—much like it but stronger and orange instead of yellow. In this the old males are quarrelsome but the young males are obstinate and never become puddle-butterflies. This butterfly therefore sometimes becomes so very common as to destroy whole acres of its food plant. Within the past score

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of years it has wandered eastward and is now abundant throughout the eastern states—indeed in many regions it is the commonest of the summer butterflies. With the increase in numbers of this orange interloper the yellow native has gradually disappeared and now is rarely seen in many regions where a score of years ago it was the most abundant of summer butterflies.

How can one butterfly exterminate another so effectively? In this case by assisting in the persecution of the males. The sensitive and temperamental males of the yellow clover butterfly are now persecuted not only by the seasoned males of their own kind but also by the stronger and, if possible, more callous males of the orange westerner. As a result successful matings are reduced to a minimum.

Contemplation of this orange immigrant has led us away from the general subject of the puddle-butterflies. The cloudless sulphur, commonest and most conspicuous puddle-butterfly of the South, is so prolific that many of the males after filling up with water can find for themselves no place in the fields from which they came. They are powerful fliers and rather than face the constant fighting in their home territory they start off on exploring expeditions for parts unknown, singly, in little groups, or sometimes in great multitudes, almost invariably flying against the wind. Late in summer they become common far to the northward of their normal haunts and in some years are by no means rare as far north as southern Massachusetts. The exploring habit so characteristic of the powerful males of the cloudless sulphur eliminates millions of individuals each year. Many fly out to sea and drown and many more are killed by each winter's cold—an elimination of surplus males that greatly benefits the race at the expense of individuals.

The migratory habit characterizes many different kinds of butterflies and takes many different forms. Often, but by no means always, it is Nature's mechanism for protecting the race by the elimination of a surplus, usually of males. But in some kinds of butterflies both sexes take part in migratory flights. This is the case, for instance, with that most famous of all

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migrants, the common milkweed butterfly or monarch. Female monarchs are equal in number to the males, with rivalry consequently at a minimum and the males seldom showing any animosity toward each other. This insect is therefore adapted for gathering in large companies, including both sexes equally.

In the late summer or early autumn milkweed butterflies are often very common, particularly if they have been scarce earlier in the season. A few days of rain following a long dry spell will sometimes bring them out in enormous numbers. At this season they are frequently seen in large loose flocks flying in a definite direction, usually south, often following a river or the seacoast. The southward direction taken by these butterflies seems to grow out of their habit of starting off with an indolent drifting flight before the prevailing wind, which in the autumn is commonly northwest. If when flying or drifting before the wind they come to a river or the seacoast they follow the water, turning at the least angle, and this usually takes them south. In the vicinity of Washington, D. C. and Alexandria, Virginia the flights, so far as they have been observed, are westward, up the Potomac valley, and on the New Jersey coast the flights are southward. This is especially interesting, for at one and the same time the cloudless sulphurs may often be observed flying with great speed eastward down the Potomac valley and northward along the New Jersey coast. Thus these two butterflies, the largest and most conspicuous of our regularly migratory species, are found to move in opposite directions at the same time and in the same places.

This habit of migrating in opposite directions has an interesting result. Both of these butterflies are common over most of tropical America. In the Caribbean region and on our southeastern coast the cloudless sulphur is often seen at sea, flying against the northeast wind. I have seen literally millions of these butterflies and their close relatives so engaged off the coast of Venezuela. Throughout that area there is no record of the milkweed butterfly having been observed at sea. On the other hand, off the northeastern section of the United States the

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milkweed butterfly is commonly found very far from land. It has been reported flying over the water near Cape St. Vincent, Portugal and also not very far from the Scottish coast, and there are many records of individuals caught in western Europe. But here the cloudless sulphur is never seen at sea. Their opposite reactions to the direction of the wind keeps one of these two butterflies to the land in the south and the other to the land in the north.

In the case of the cloudless sulphur it is generally admitted that the migratory hordes represent elimination of surplus individuals, mostly males. But in the case of the milkweed butterfly it has been assumed that, after the fashion of birds, the migrating individuals spent the winter in the south, returning north in spring. This, however, is one of those attractive theories for which there is no confirmatory evidence whatever. The mere fact that no one ever saw these butterflies definitely moving northward in the spring is ignored in favor of the supposition that, following the analogy of birds, something of the sort must certainly occur. The plain truth seems to be that these great flocks of migrating milkweed butterflies represent surplus individuals from an overcrowded region.

Migratory flights more or less similar to those of the cloudless sulphur and the milkweed butterfly are undertaken by several other of our less conspicuous butterflies, usually irregularly. And in addition to these spectacular mass migrations there are the constant wanderings of individuals of other kinds, seeking to establish their residence—or rather to plant their progeny—in new territory beyond the normal range. Often these efforts are temporarily successful. Colonies of a particular butterfly will appear in unexpected places, persist for a few years, and then die out. An excellent example is furnished by the handsome goldbanded skipper, a butterfly common from the mountains of southern Arizona southward to Guatemala. But it has also been recorded in the east from New York to Florida and Georgia in widely separated localities, chiefly in hilly or mountainous country, the individuals as a rule being considerably smaller

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than those in the southwest. These eastern colonies seem to be temporary communities founded by individuals wandering from the butterfly's true home, persisting for a few years, and then dying out. The recent successful colonization of the east by the western orange clover butterfly has already been mentioned.

The present range of certain butterflies is limited not by their inability to withstand climatic conditions in outlying territory but by the absence of the proper food plant beyond their present range. Thus in some regions in the country the pretty blue swallowtail is seldom or never seen though a veranda decorated with a Dutchman's pipe vine soon harbors caterpillars that will eventually become blue swallowtails, the vine having been discovered by a wandering female of this species. Wandering butterflies usually disappear without leaving any trace of their existence, vast numbers perishing every year. All butterflies, like all other living creatures, are continually striving to extend their range and to colonize regions beyond their present habitat. Many butterflies can withstand the rigors of winter only in the south. In the spring some of the females fly northward, scattering their eggs over a more or less broad band north of the region where they lived as caterpillars. The summer brood is therefore found over a much broader territory than the spring brood. And if there is a third brood this covers a still larger range. But the winter's cold wipes out individuals north of the region where the spring brood flies and the cycle must begin all over again.

Cold of itself, however, is no deterrent to the spread of butterflies. We are accustomed to regard the butterflies as harbingers of spring and as Nature's dainty living ornaments of our fields and gardens in the sultry days of summer. Yet no temperatures found in nature are too low for certain kinds of butterflies. Quite a number in their early stages can withstand the severest cold of an Arctic winter or the still severer cold of Verkhoyansk in northeastern Siberia where the mean temperature in January is 60° below zero and where it sometimes is far colder. Covered with ice and snow and all but inaccessible is the desolate Arctic waste of Grinnell Land, just across the narrow Kennedy Chan-

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nel from northwestern Greenland. Here at Lady Franklin Bay the average winter temperature is 36° below, with a minimum of 73° below in March, and the average summer temperature is only 34° above. In this grim region of eternal ice live five different kinds of gaily colored butterflies. During the short period when there is practically no night they are continually on the wing, when the sun's face is not obscured by clouds or passing snow showers. For one month only of the year is it possible for these insects to appear as winged adults and for only about six weeks can their caterpillars feed, the land during the rest of the year being under snow and ice. The caterpillars living in this region may be frozen until they become hard as ice and brittle as rotten twigs yet when it warms up and they thaw out they come again to life and begin to feed in the most unconcerned manner. In such a region activity for any insect is possible for only a few weeks in every year. For at least ten of the twelve months all insect life is in abeyance—frozen into inactivity and unconsciousness. Yet living under these conditions in Baffin Land, in the arctic archipelago north of North America and along the northern coast of North America itself there are no less than 22 different kinds of butterflies and from the Arctic regions as a whole 105 are recorded—some of them, however, more or less casual visitors from more southern climes. Yet some of these more southern regions, where the climate is far less rigorous than in the Arctic, are quite devoid of butterflies. There are none, for instance, in Iceland, on the Pribiloff or Aleutian Islands, or on Kerguelen. Though their climate is comparatively mild these islands are too stormy and too wet.

In all the world a few regions only lack butterflies. There are nearly 50,000 different kinds, of which the greater part are tropical, more than a third of the total number living in tropical America. And each of these 50,000 has habits and predilections differing more or less widely from those of any other kind. Indeed in the same butterfly alternate broods often differ widely in their habits, or individuals of the same brood may differ according to the type of country they inhabit.

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A Plea for Unprincipled Education

DATUS C. SMITH, JR.

HIGH principles have done more harm to learning than indolence and stupidity combined. Whenever a group of scholars has attempted to promote morality as well as knowledge it has ended by damaging both. Grief and embarrassment would be avoided if educators would recall this paradox each time they feel symptoms of the Moral Urge. If universities are indeed anxious to serve the ultimate good of society, and not merely expedients of the moment, they must forget all about "right" and "wrong" and devote themselves solely to the search for truth—not the mystical, upper-case Truth of the pulpit but simply the most inclusive picture of the real world available at that time.

This is not so simple as it sounds nor is it merely the old question of academic freedom. The right of a professor to say something his university believes morally bad—that is a precious right and we properly honor the institutions that have been most tolerant in granting it. But it is not the whole story, for no scholar would find himself dissenting from official opinion if his university did not take sides in the first place. This is almost universally overlooked, and even the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors are more likely to beg for tolerance of an individual's dissenting views than they are to ask by what right the theoretically nonpartisan university has adopted a partisan position, thereby forcing him into the undesired role of a heretic. The plea for tolerance is usually necessary to protect the individual but it obscures the main point. It suggests that tolerance is all that is necessary when, actually, tolerance is not enough. The university's obligation is to be disinterested.

To be disinterested requires neutrality not merely with respect to political parties, religious principles and other details but

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also with respect to such broad questions as capitalism, democracy, the church, the family—which are popularly assumed to be sacred and above debate. Obviously this must work both ways: a university dedicating itself to the overthrow of capitalism would be just as false to the ideal of disinterested education as are the hundreds which today do violence to the spirit of free inquiry because "the American system must be preserved." The disinterested university does not care whether capitalism is preserved or not.

Such unprincipled academic neutrality as this would obviously require educational administrators of rare courage—men and women who could face the public pressure of patriotism and the private pressure of expediency. In their official capacities they would have to ignore the Moral Truths in which they might properly believe as private citizens or even as individual scholars. And they would have to prevent the Moral Truths subscribed to by other human beings from serving as the official doctrine of the university. This is a large order but if there should ever be educators of this sort they would see their institution enjoy unique benefits, not the least of them being release from human errors in judgment.

Human error is a phenomenon fairly well established in history but our universities act in many ways as if they had never heard of it, as if they did not know that moral judgment is a perishable commodity, likely to turn sour when left standing for any length of time. Individual educators must know that what once seemed "right" now seems "wrong" but they conduct their universities as if the idea had never occurred to them. Each American university is operating on an "inarticulate major premise" which, in greater or less degree, distorts the teaching and colors the scholarship at that university. The major premise may be so simple a proposition as "Roosevelt delendus est," or it may be a more basic concept such as "capitalism must be preserved" or (none of record) "religion is the opium of the people." Whatever the major premise may be there can be no real academic freedom, however tolerant a university may be, so

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long as it is officially committed to the essential goodness or wickedness of certain fundamental ideas.

Perhaps the highest function of a university is that of shortening the interval between the day when a human guess is erected into Moral Truth and the day when it is discovered to be incompatible with facts. If a university itself makes moral judgments it not only stores up embarrassment for the day of reckoning which is to come but it excommunicates all dissenting opinion, thereby making difficult the automatic sifting of error which would be possible in a society of free scholars. Once a moral judgment is pronounced both the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge—prime necessities for orderly change in the world of ideas as in the world of affairs—are hindered and the university itself helps to "freeze the status quo."

Our universities did just that in connection with Darwinism, they did it in connection with the World War, they did it, and are doing it today, in connection with all kinds of political and economic ideas. The moral judgment may be pronounced in any one of a variety of ways—by executive order, by formal resolution of the faculty, by tinkering with the curriculum, by granting honorary degrees to persons who are political symbols, by discharging professors or withholding their promotions, by denying free press and free assembly to the student body, etc. But whichever method may be used there is nothing ambiguous about it.

And those moral judgments do hang on. Millions of Americans still believe the moral judgments regarding the World War which were casually slapped down by the universities twenty years ago. It may be said in extenuation that the universities were not alone in falling prey to hysteria, but they alone gave the dignity and respectability of scholarship to the fairy tales of the National Security League and the Committee on Public Information. The actions of individual scholars may be something to be settled between them and their god but the orgy of moral judgment was not limited to individuals. Universities in their official capacities proceeded to bandy about

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those categorical terms, "right" and "wrong," and to forbid their scholars to seek additional facts or a surer judgment.

One example may be cited, unimportant in itself but typical of all that went on at American universities during the war years. Before the War Count von Bernstorff, German ambassador to the United States, was showered with LL.D.'s. The University of Chicago, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Columbia University and six other institutions used superlatives to describe his uprightness, his wisdom, his integrity, etc. But in 1917 and 1918 the same institutions were so chagrined at having him on their rolls that all but two cancelled his degree and expunged his name from the record. In at least one case his name has since been semi-officially restored. Now the morality of the German ambassador did not change thus violently. He served his emperor as faithfully and as uprightly—actually he served America as faithfully and as uprightly—in 1917 as when he received the degrees. But the Zimmermann telegram and other revelations made von Bernstorff appear to be a treacherous criminal in 1917. Since the War, however, it has come to look as if the ambassador's actions were of at least reasonable propriety for a 1917 diplomat. He changed from a doctor of laws to an agent of the devil and now, twenty years later, he seems to be changing back into the form of a human being. But any scholar who had suggested in 1914 that von Bernstorff was not worthy of a degree (or in 1917 that he *was* worthy) would have been summarily dismissed.

It would be unfair to criticize the universities for having guessed wrong regarding the ethics of 20th century diplomatic history but they can be criticized for having guessed at all—for having abandoned academic neutrality to express moral judgments on political issues. On the grounds of wartime emergency (isn't there always some emergency?) the universities said they were not interested in factual detail but only with what was ethically right—the truth could wait. Need it be said that in many quarters the wartime emergency seems still to exist and that the truth is still waiting? The post-war attempt of the

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Lusk Committee in New York State to suppress free teaching would have been more ridiculous if some of the victimized institutions had not themselves contributed to the misinformation and prejudice of the legislators. The Lusk Committee merely repeated after the War certain preposterous mistakes that a few years earlier had issued from the campus as great Moral Truths. Mrs. Dilling of *The Red Network* may properly claim to be following in a great and scholarly tradition.

The distressing feature of a university's dedication to "high principles" instead of factual truth is that whereas human frailty may cause the initial error almost superhuman effort may be needed to correct it. When a university officially says something is right or wrong it is raising to the status of revelation the ethical guess of a human faculty, board of trustees or administration. The university is staking its integrity and reputation on the wisdom of that guess and is talking about it not as the conjecture which it is but as exclusive information from on high. This canonizes and perpetuates honest error, making one human being's incomplete data or imperfect understanding the basis of something that comes to look like divine law. When later years reveal the uncertain basis of the quondam absolute truth the institution suffers a loss of dignity, which is perhaps unimportant, but in the meantime the professors and students of that institution, if they wish to examine the facts underlying the ethical guess, must do so clandestinely or at best with the discomforting knowledge that they are being "tolerated."

At approximately this point in the discussion someone is sure to come forward with a plea for "realism," pointing out that universities do not operate in a vacuum from which has been exhausted all the material of controversy. "Modern scholars are in a real world. They must let their minds range where they will and, when conclusions have been reached, must be allowed to announce them." That is exactly the point of this essay. There may be scholars who are both honest and free but there is no such being as a neutral scholar. Any student worth his salt must reach conclusions after studying a controversial question, but the

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"high-principled" institution cannot afford to let him announce them unless they happen to agree with official doctrine. It is only the unprincipled institution—the institution which refuses to take sides—that can allow its scholars to deal with realities and to speak what they believe to be the truth.

As an illustration of what happens when a university is determined to follow high principles, whatever the cost, examine the situation at the most high-principled institutions in the world today—the universities of Germany. Not all of us would grant the loftiness of the principles, but neither did Heidelberg and Göttingen grant the loftiness of American university principles in 1918 when our scholarship bore false witness in order to maintain anti-German morale. Nor would all of us grant that everything was on a high moral plane at those American institutions which have discharged professors for disagreeing with the official creed. But it is enough for our purposes that each of these institutions "puts principles first" (i.e., deforms scholarship for a purpose which seems valuable to the authorities in charge). Germany's right to a preeminent position in this regard is clear in spite of several startling contributions by the United States. We have Loyalty Oaths which allow teachers to tell the truth only so long as they have the backing of five Supreme Court Justices, but few educators say they approve this requirement; our state universities have discharged professors for criticizing local *fuehrers* but in public the reason for dismissal is usually called retrenchment. Under Hitler, however, a spade is called a spade. Dr. Ernest Kreick, speaking for Heidelburg at the anniversary celebration on June 30, 1936 said:

> The science of a nation is an expression of part of its total life, and therefore is bound by the necessities, direction, and purposes of the national life. We do not know of or recognize truth for truth's sake or science for science's sake.

Bernhard Rust, Reich culture minister, and Otto Wacker, culture minister of the Baden provincial government, made clear at the same ceremony that the value of Heidelberg is to be determined exclusively by its immediate service in upholding the

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principles of the political party in power. When Heidelberg replaced a statue of Athena with a figure of the German eagle and replaced the inscription "To the Eternal Spirit" with an inscription "To the German Spirit" it was merely announcing that, in unselfish devotion to the Third Reich, it was "putting principles first."

In the United States as well as in Germany honest devotion to high principles has been the most usual cause motivating universities to indulge in moral judgments. In fact in the outstanding cases in this country the moral position has been adopted at some immediate sacrifice to the institution. The university says the right is more precious than peace or dollars or academic standards—and means it. During the World War our universities called each other bad names and engaged in a competition to see which could make the greatest sacrifice not merely of men and money but of standards and integrity. The University of Minnesota boasted that its scholars were more afraid to say what they thought than were those of Wisconsin. Columbia was proud that its academic degree had less significance than Harvard's. Princeton rejoiced that it was teaching fewer subjects of use to civilization than was Yale. Everybody threw things overboard and boasted of the "dedication," whether or not the country might reasonably expect to benefit from it. This sacrifice for principles is well illustrated in two more recent cases in each of which an institution issued a moral judgment by refusing "tainted money"—not tainted as in the old days of the muckrakers by the donor's method of acquiring it but tainted by the donor's political beliefs.

In the fall of 1934 Harvard University refused $1,000 offered by Dr. Ernst F. S. Hanfstaengel, Harvard '09, for a travel scholarship in Germany, the reason being that Hanfstaengel was a close friend of Hitler and a prominent member of the Nazi party which holds political principles disapproved by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. President Conant wrote:

We are unwilling to accept a gift from one who has been so closely

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associated with the leadership of a political party which has inflicted damage on the universities of Germany through measures which have struck at principles we believe to be fundamental to universities throughout the world.

Consistent with this Harvard also turned down $1,500 offered by Dr. Matthew T. Mellon who, although a Harvard graduate student and an American citizen, is a Nazi enthusiast and wished to give a scholarship "along the lines suggested by Dr. Hanfstaengel." Most liberals hailed Dr. Conant's statement and there was general gratification at the rebuff given to an obvious fascist bid for publicity. There is no question that Dr. Conant expressed the views of his own faculty, of Harvard alumni and of American universities generally. But he also committed the university to a moral judgment under the terms of which Harvard as a corporate body temporarily abandoned academic neutrality and, for no matter what laudable motives, entered international politics.

If this seems too strong leave Harvard for a moment and observe another tainted-money case. Three years ago most important private colleges refused money from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for their needy undergraduates. It was generally suspected that the administrators of the colleges spurning the FERA were acting politically—not in the sense of striving for any personal advantage but of turning their official wrath against Roosevelt economics. This suspicion was confirmed in the newspaper argument between Harry Hopkins and Tyler Dennett, president of Williams College. Goaded by Mr. Hopkin's reference to "overendowed institutions" Dr. Dennett said that Williams was operating on an unbalanced budget and badly needly FERA funds for poor students but had refused the money on principle. No strings were tied to the FERA gifts but Williams disapproved the whole moral philosophy of federal almsgiving:

> If there is any professor here who approves the New Deal, he is perfectly free to say so, but if he does not approve it, he at least does not have the embarrassment of knowing that when he teaches that FERA economics are bad he is arguing against his salary.

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(This seemed to confirm a belief long held by radicals—that the sources of college funds may affect the teaching of politics and economics in that college. If Dr. Dennett is correct, and if Administrator Hopkins might corrupt the purity of an institution's scholarship with a handful of small change, what must be the bias and the corruption resulting from multi-millionaire endowments largely given by individual capitalists who are now being dunned for further contributions?)

In any event when you reject on grounds of morality a gift from one source and accept without murmur a gift from another you inevitably place your stamp of approval on the morality of the latter. Williams College, by its FERA decision, not only approved the ethics and accepted the sins of all its financial friends (and unless donors to Williams are strikingly different from the average run of humanity that is a pretty large order) but jumped with both feet into the maelstrom of national politics, just as Harvard entered international politics. It is not easy to believe that Williams would bring reprisals against one of its professors for political reasons but in spite of Dr. Dennett's assurance ("if there is any professor here who approves the New Deal he is perfectly free to say so") everyone knows that Williams is in politics—and knows on which side it has enlisted. Imagine for instance a hypothetical economics professor concluding, after three years of honest research, a study which indicates to him that the FERA is socially valuable. Too bad, says Williams College before he has presented his case, you will be tolerated of course but you are wrong.

Harvard's tradition of academic freedom is one of the glories of American education and Dr. Conant has shown by word and deed that he will always be a courageous defender of liberty on and off the campus. It seems petty to task him with his handling of a $1,000 fascist publicity stunt, and it would be if it did not show how the most eminent of our universities may slip, if only momentarily, into the pitfall of moral judgment. One hopes that no American educator would condone the things Germany has done to her scholars. But observe the easy persuasiveness of

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"putting principles first." How gently a thoughtless administrator might proceed from the Harvard condemnation of Nazi politics to the Williams condemnation of Democratic politics, and from there to a penalizing of professors for their political beliefs—in other words to the way of life described in Nazi politics. The fact that the Nazi party (or the Democratic party) may be considered to contain a direct threat to education does not change a university's obligation to be neutral. Just as an honest interpretation of the Bill of Rights extends free speech to those who would destroy free speech itself, even so the disinterested university must maintain official neutrality even towards movements and institutions which seem to threaten the future possibility of free inquiry.

Clearly this is no counsel of weakness. The way is hard. It is easy for a college to espouse high principles, particularly when it is siding with the big battalions of public opinion, but the moment it does this it abandons the high cause of honest scholarship. Only the neutral university, the disinterested university, can permit honest expression of opinion and the sifting of error. The partisan university cannot afford it. And, as President Conant said at Harvard in June 1936, "It was never more important to remember that universities have outlived many changes of government."

The usefulness of universities derives from the fact that they have no axe to grind. The minute they espouse some cause they lose their charter in society. And sincerity is no defense. Once a university decides to be high-principled and to enter upon the field of ethical guesses it is estopped from performing its unique service to the community. It is then on a par with the American Liberty League and the Communist Party—each undeniably sincere, industrious, and, according to its lights, high-principled, but each starting with a predetermined moral judgment to which the available facts are made to conform. This is the way of Heidelberg, Göttingen and too many American universities. Is there no place for unprincipled institutions?

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Raw Materials—Share or Lose?

BROOKS EMENY

THE present confusion of thought about the question of raw materials arises primarily from a general misconception of the basic factors involved. While the availability and control of the world's raw materials sources have a peacetime significance it is by virtue of their relation to wars and rumors of wars that their inequitable distribution has taken on so portentous an aspect. Nor have the threats of the so-called "Have-Not" nations upon the status quo position of the "Haves" and the challenges and vituperations of responsible statesmen facilitated the realization of a workable solution of some of the most fundamental causes of conflict. Before considering the question of the peace and war position of nations with respect to raw materials thought should first be directed to certain basic principles of the prevailing international system. With these clearly in mind a more intelligent approach can be made to an understanding of the significance of the inequitable distribution of basic industrial commodities as well as to possible solutions of the problems arising therefrom.

The first and most far-reaching circumstance is the fact that out of the sixty-odd sovereign independent states of the world only seven, the United States, the British Empire, France, Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan can by reason of their disproportionate strength invest their national policies with real international importance. If the basic conflicts in the policies of these states could somehow be solved world peace would become a reality. For although small in number the seven Great Powers account not only for the greater portion of the world's indus-

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trial, financial and military might but likewise possess or control 90 per cent of the available raw materials supplies. Since they enjoy, moreover, a virtual monopoly in the manufacture of munitions, due to the extent of their industrial development, they have collectively within their power the greater portion of the instruments of policy which alone make modern warfare possible.

It is obvious, therefore, that although armed conflict may arise between small nations it is only in wars in which the prestige and interests of the great industrial states are involved that serious consequences to international relations arise. The recent war in the Gran Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay, though no less cruel or destructive than the revolt in Spain or the present clash of Sino-Japanese armies in China, caused scarcely more than a ripple upon the surface of the stream of world relations whereas the latter two conflicts, involving as they do the opposing interests of the Great Powers, may lead to the outbreak of general war.

The real significance of raw materials in relation to the problem of peace and war arises, therefore, from the fact that in a nationalist and industrialized world in which arms are the ultimate instrument of policy the assurance of an adequate and uninterrupted supply of the commodities necessary for their manufacture is imperative. Although obviously no nation can attain complete self-sufficiency the fact that certain great nations are assured of adequate colonial or foreign sources in time of war while others equally powerful, militarily and industrially, enjoy no such guarantee, gives rise to an intolerable cleavage of rival interests in the pursuit of national security and power. Before continuing further, however, an analysis of the conflict between the policies of these states or a discussion of the possible solutions of the problem a visual picture of the raw materials position of each of the Great Powers is essential.

In the first of the accompanying charts the relative degree of self-sufficiency of each of the seven Great Powers in the basic

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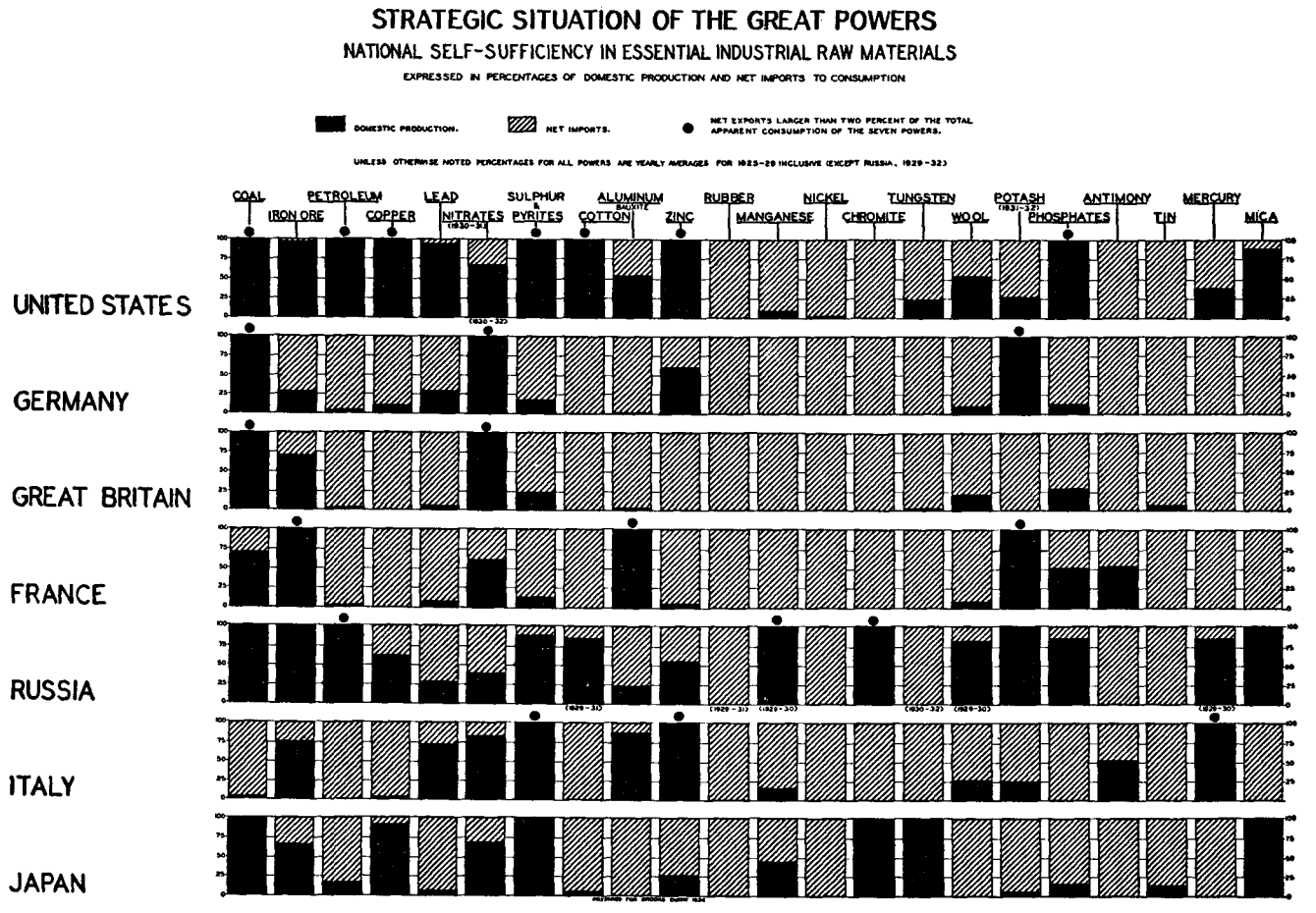

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raw materials is illustrated, the proportion of domestic production and imports to the total industrial demand being indicated respectively by the black and striped areas.[1] And although it is apparent at first glance that the principal industrial nations are, under normal conditions, largely dependent upon imports, a more detailed examination of the chart will bring out important contrasts.

It should be noted in the first place that the United States is self-sufficient or largely so[2] in the first ten most important basic commodities. No other nation except Russia approaches the American position. Germany and Great Britain (exclusive of the British Dominions and possessions) on the other hand are dependent upon imports for virtually all materials with the exception of coal and nitrates, the latter commodity being manufactured synthetically, as it is likewise in the United States. Similarly, although France possesses adequate resources in iron, aluminum and potash she is entirely dependent upon foreign sources for petroleum, copper and lead and must also import a considerable tonnage of coal, which is the most important of all the basic commodities. The Italian situation, too, is even less favorable inasmuch as it is governed by a virtually complete dependence upon foreign sources of coal, petroleum and copper, domestic iron supplies being greatly limited as in the case of Japan.

A more revealing contrast in the position of the Powers is to be gained, however, from a study of the second chart. As in the first chart, a comparison of the relative degrees of self-sufficiency in the essential raw materials is represented by the vertical

[1] The three charts included in this article appear in *The Strategy of Raw Materials* by Brooks Emeny (New York, Macmillan, 1936). They have been reproduced with the kind permission of the Bureau of International Research, of Harvard University and Radcliffe College.

[2] The small imports of iron and lead and the larger imports of nitrates and bauxite, the ore of aluminum, which normally take place in the case of the United States, are due not to lack of adequate domestic sources but to convenience. It is less costly to ship iron ore to certain eastern smelters from Cuba than from Lake Superior. The same is true of bauxite, which comes from Dutch Guinea. Similarly, lead from Mexico and natural nitrates from Chile can be more conveniently imported, for consumption at certain centers, despite the fact that domestic resources are sufficient to supply national demands.

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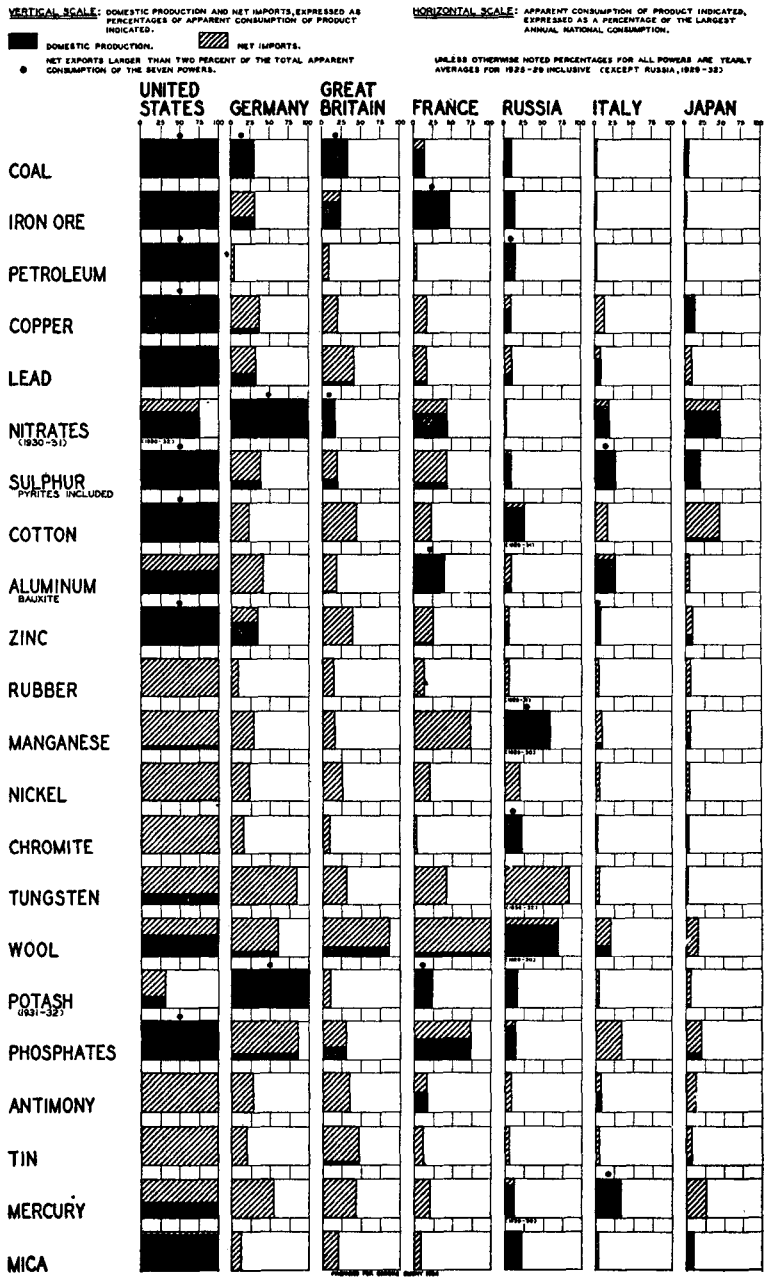
Raw Materials—Share or Lose?

STRATEGIC SITUATION OF THE GREAT POWERS

NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS, IN TERMS OF COMPARATIVE CONSUMPTION DEMAND



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scale which illustrates the proportion in which domestic output and net imports stand to total national consumption. The added feature, however, involves a comparison of the national consumptions in each commodity, indicating the relative size of national industries capable of turning out the products demanded in both peace and war.

The detail of greatest significance, illustrated in the chart, is the amazing industrial power of the United States, as shown by the relative size of its consumption in each of the raw materials, indicating an average capacity equal to the other six Powers combined. Germany and Great Britain, which rank next in order of importance, account each for about 25 per cent of America's capacity, with France, Russia, Italy and Japan trailing off to relative insignificance. When one considers, therefore, the question of the raw material self-sufficiency of the United States one is asking in reality whether this country can produce domestically an amount equal to half of the world's total output of the commodities concerned. Viewed from this angle the apparent self-sufficiency of Japan in coal, chromite and tungsten, or of Russia in potash and iron, or Britain in synthetic nitrates is not particularly impressive if compared with the normal consuming capacity of American industries.

Even more significant, however, is the indicated relative capacity of each country in the production of arms. For inasmuch as a nation's industrial "war potential" can be taken as equivalent to its industrial "peace potential," under the modern technique of manufacture, it is obvious that a country like the United States is capable of becoming by far the world's greatest producer of munitions whereas Japan or Italy can scarcely attain to 10 per cent of American output. At least such a ratio of capacities in the manufacture of arms would hold so long as the nations concerned were assured at all times of an adequate supply of essential raw materials. For it is quite clear that, under present circumstances of highly integrated and developed technique in metallurgy and chemistry, the lack of a single basic raw material may lead to a breakdown of the entire production

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system. A nation may have a vast industrial equipment for the construction of warships, tanks, trucks and planes but if it lacks fuel and oil its military machine will automatically collapse. The same principle applies, moreover, not only to so essential a commodity as rubber but to the dozen or more basic metals required in the manufacture of vast numbers of steel and alloy products which are indispensable to modern mechanized warfare.

Aside from the fact, therefore, that economic nationalism, with its by-product of restrictions in trade, exchange and currencies may make impossible the purchase of adequate amounts of foreign sources of raw materials, as is undoubtedly the case in Germany and Italy today, the really serious problem in war arises from the shutting off of essential imports through enemy blockade. It is this fear of a collapse of the industrial base of the military machine, through the denial of essential foreign supplies, which largely explains the revolt of the "Have-Not" Powers against circumstances considered inimical to their security.

For this reason colonies and the possession or control of alien territories rich in natural resources have come to appear so important a prerequisite to national security in German, Italian and Japanese opinion. The raw material basis for this concern is strikingly indicated in the chart on page 428 illustrating the potential wartime self-sufficiency of the Great Powers in raw materials. In the construction of this chart two general assumptions were made. The first is that in wartime even low-grade, high-cost domestic deposits of minerals which under ordinary circumstances remain untouched would be exploited for the duration of the national emergency. The second assumption is that colonial supplies, in so far as they exist, would at all times be available to the mother country, a condition implying the necessity of control of the sea lanes. In the case of the United States it is further assumed that during a war emergency, communication with Canada, the west coast of South America, the mouth of the Amazon, and the Caribbean area would be main-

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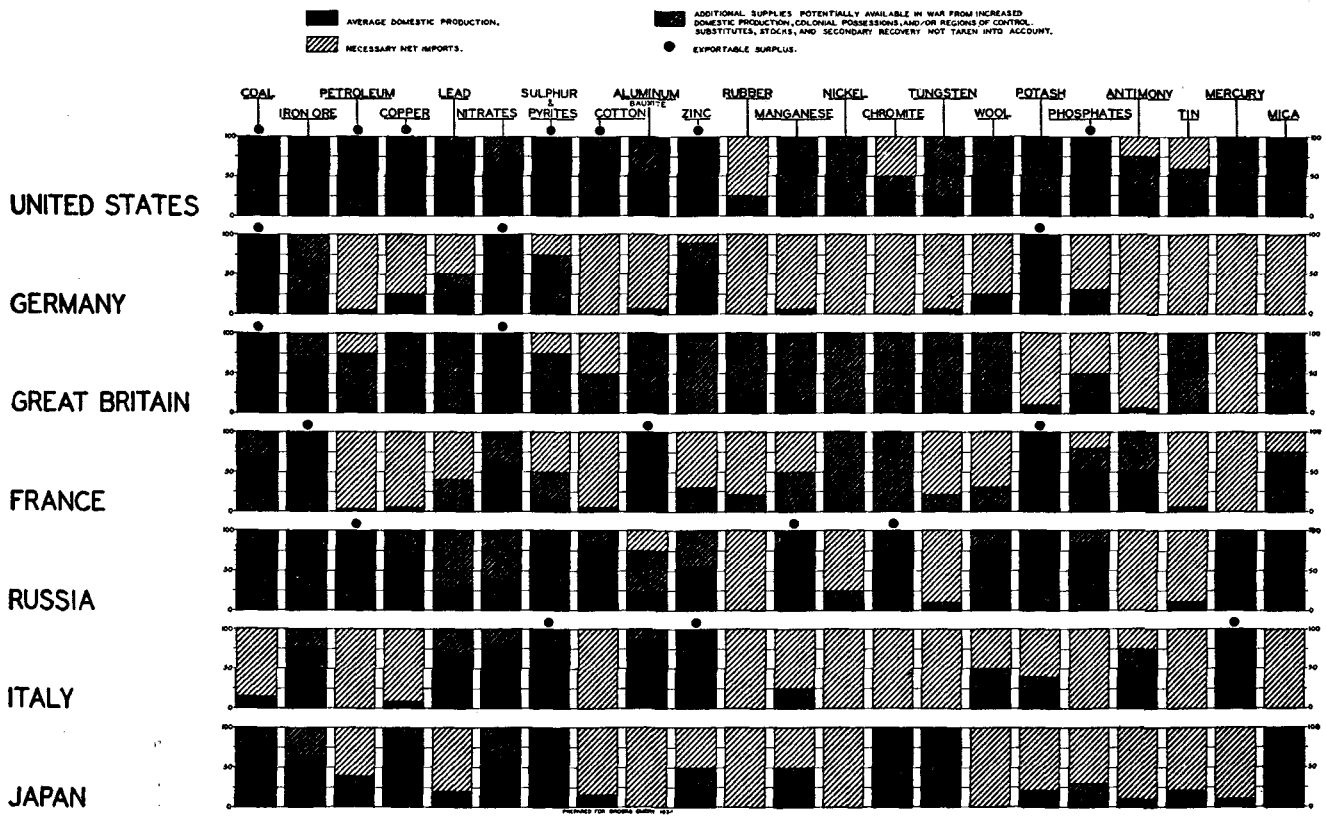
STRATEGIC SITUATION OF THE GREAT POWERS

POTENTIAL WAR-TIME SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS

EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES OF ALL SOURCES OF SUPPLY TO CONSUMPTION



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tained, a circumstance well within the military and naval power of this country. From these neighboring areas supplies of nickel, tin, rubber and manganese could be assured. In all other circumstances where, under normal conditions, imports would be relied upon resort could be had to low-grade domestic resources, which are sufficiently large to satisfy emergency needs.[1]

It is obvious from the chart that the war position of only three of the Great Powers, the United States, the British Empire and Soviet Russia, approaches the ideal situation of complete security in raw material supplies. France, although by no means capable of self-containment, need have little fear, however, provided Britain remains either allied or neutral in time of emergency.

It is to the situations, then, of Germany, Italy and Japan that attention should be directed. For obviously none of these three Great Powers, even under the most favorable circumstances of domestic exploitation of low-grade materials or the tapping of colonial resources (possible to the Italians and Japanese) provides for any assurance of raw material self-sufficiency. It is because of this, too, that the "Have-Not" nations, in natural response to the demands of their national security, are in revolt. Nor can there be any relinquishing of their expansionist programs so long as the prevailing conditions of uncertainty and fear of war continue. For though many of their contentions and claims are based upon false assumptions as to the means of a cure, the jeopardy to which their standards of living and national security are at present subjected is in their eyes a justification of present policies.

In considering, therefore, the international aspects of the raw materials question it is important to distinguish between the false and the real. Essentially the problem is one of armaments, which in turn is the product of a world in which each

[1] Although it will be noted according to the chart that despite the above assumptions the United States would still be dependent upon foreign sources for rubber, chromite, antimony and tin, in actual fact these needs could be adequately met by the use of substitutes, stock piling of war reserves, the synthetic manufacture of rubber and the secondary recovery of metals.

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nation must depend upon its own strength in war. For so long as there is no collective security against aggression the competitive search for national power must continue.

Though it is perfectly true that the question of raw materials is directly related to the problem of national defense in war it is likewise true that many of the conflicts involved grow directly out of the peacetime practices of nations. Of these the most important are economic nationalism and the abuse of monopoly power.

The monopoly problem is one which need not be taken too seriously since there are definite checks upon its exercise. Through the medium of substitutes, synthetic products and new sources of supply the periodical attempts to set up monopolies in essential raw materials, such as rubber and tin, have usually been broken down. It is only when monopolies become specifically discriminatory that serious conflicts arise. Recent threats of restrictions upon the export of scrap metals from the United States and Britain to nations engaged in armaments manufacture, particularly Japan, Germany and Italy, have been the occasion of considerable alarm. The threat or imposition of raw materials sanctions, made possible by virtue of monopolies enjoyed by sanctionist powers, belong likewise to the same category.

Of more serious and far-reaching import, however, are the general practices of economic nationalism which by creating difficulties of exchange through tariff and currency restrictions have placed the most severe strictures upon the economy of the less favored nations whose prosperity depends primarily on foreign commerce. This has applied not only to minor states and colonies which provide raw materials but also to highly industrialized nations with large populations, the proper functioning of whose economic machinery depends upon the free exchange of manufactured products for raw materials essentials. Nor has the return of "armament prosperity" improved the lot of the less favorably situated industrial nations. Having become inextricably involved in the practices and penalties of

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economic nationalism they are faced today with so limited a supply of foreign exchange as to be unable to purchase the foreign commodities essential to the support of their armaments and the maintenance of their standard of living.

Although this situation applies to certain smaller states as well, Germany, Italy and Japan alone possess an industrial and military power sufficient to challenge the territorial strictures under which they labor. But though Japan and Italy, in contrast to Germany, have partially realized their claims to expansion, the solution of their difficulties has not thereby been achieved. It is true that in the case of Japan the advantages of monopoly or control over the limited though important raw material wealth of Manchukuo and North China are considerable. But the dependence of Japan upon the majority of the basic essentials, not to be found within the limits of her present conquest, still remains. Nor can the advantages gained balance the cost involved both in financial outlay and in the opposition aroused within China, in the Soviet Union or on the part of the Western Naval Powers. The same disabilities may be said to apply even more acutely in the case of Italy. For not only will the financial cost of the conquest and development of Ethiopia far outweigh any economic raw materials advantages to be derived but the strategic liability of the Italian position has been immeasurably increased because of resultant conflicts with the Mediterranean and African interests of France and the British Empire. In the case of Germany the liabilities involved in the return of her former colonies would be equally great since the cost of upkeep and defense would remain a constant burden. Nor would they solve the present raw materials problem of the Reich. Germany's perfectly justifiable plea is that she lacks foreign exchange in sufficient amount to purchase raw materials. Were she in possession of her former colonies, the argument runs, exchange difficulties would disappear since the possessions and Reich alike would be under the same currency system. While this undoubtedly would be true, financially speaking, the readjustments involved in such a change and the difficulties of

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getting under way, in intensive form, the exploitation of the limited number of raw materials available would in no way offer a solution of the German problem, either of the present or of the immediate future. Nor could the former colonies prove an important outlet for excess population any more than Ethiopia for the Italians or North China and Manchukuo for the Japanese—because of the climate and of the inability of the citizens of colonial powers to compete economically with native populations.[1]

While the colonial claims of the "Have-Not" nations have been popularly based, therefore, upon the treble necessity for raw materials self-sufficiency, population outlet and strategic advantage, these assumptions in the end must prove illusory. For not only are such colonies as are available incapable of providing self-sufficiency in raw materials but they are, climatically and economically, wholly inadequate as an outlet for excess population and remain a constant strategic and economic liability. Nor do the colonial claims of the "Have-Not" nations ring entirely true in the ears of those who recognize the basic difficulties. For though stress is laid on the necessity of raw materials sources and on an emigration outlet as a means of relieving the economic distress and the over-population within the countries concerned, the full force of official propaganda is being centered, in Germany and Italy in particular, upon an increase in the birthrate as an obvious means of artificially creating an internal explosion for purposes of expansion. Suspicion is justly aroused, therefore, that the raw materials plea, although undoubtedly based on just grievances, is being used for ulterior motives of prestige and the imperialist pursuit of national power.

Thus the world obviously faces a severe dilemma. Were the status quo nations, particularly the British Empire, the United States, Soviet Russia and France, firmly united in the sober purpose of maintaining peace it lies within their industrial and

[1] A recent study entitled *A Place in the Sun*, by Grover Clark, Macmillan, 1936 has served the worthy purpose of permanently deflating optimistic views about the value of colonies as important sources of essential raw materials, outlet for excess population, or as a source of national wealth.

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military power to do so. But though such a policy would serve to "hold down the lid," since no combination of nations could offer effective opposition, it would in no manner provide a permanent way out. In the long run an enduring and peaceful solution of the international raw materials problem can only be achieved through a drastic change in the present world order.[1]

In the first place a truly effective system of collective security against war must eventually be achieved as a means to obviate the compulsion to self-sufficiency of raw materials for competitive armaments. So long as nations have to depend upon their own strength for the protection of their national interests and security they will be forced to frame their policies in terms of the pursuit of national power.

A retreat from the restrictive practices of economic nationalism must be initiated concurrently with the reestablishment of the collective system and the realization of general disarmament. Only in such manner can the necessity for political control of sources of raw materials and markets, as an essential to national survival, be eliminated. The realization of this purpose must likewise be accompanied by a reduction of prohibitive tariffs and a general relaxation in the prevailing strictures upon international currency and exchange. As a further means of providing for equal opportunity in the purchase and sale of raw materials supplies, moreover, monopolies and control schemes should become subject to international regulation.

But whereas these two methods of approach, the one drastic and impermanent, the other slower and more enduring, would in theory be effective, their realization is not thereby assured. The impasse into which the world has thus far drifted is so serious that only the most heroic efforts imaginable can rescue humanity from the ruin of general war. Nor can any assurance be had today that the apparent aggressive purposes of the "Have-Not" powers, though undoubtedly abetted by economic

[1] Prof. Eugene Staley, in his excellent study entitled *Raw Materials in Peace and War*, Council on Foreign Relations, 1937 presents in exhaustive fashion all aspects of the proposed solutions of the raw materials dilemma.

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necessities, are not also based upon the cynical, insane intent of destructive aggrandizement at no matter what the cost.

In any case the problem of peace for the future is patently a question of reconciling the traditions of absolute sovereignty with the conditions of contemporary, economic existence. On the one hand the peoples of the British Empire, the United States, Russia and France, which together possess a virtual monopoly of the world's resources in the essentials of industry, finance and trade, have thus far remained firm in their assertion of the right to the exclusive exploitation of these resources according to the dictates of purely nationalist interest. On the other hand the less favored nations of Japan, Germany and Italy have been making parity in the bases of prosperity, through equal opportunity in trade and in the availability of the world's natural resources, the price of enduring peace.

Upon the ability of the "Haves" to utilize intelligently their undoubted military or economic power in meeting the issues raised by the "Have-Nots" depends the destiny of nations in the matter of peace and war.

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Let the Movies Be Natural

MARK VAN DOREN

ANY art is in a perilous position from the moment it begins to be recognized as an art. It is difficult for anything to be natural after its nature is known. And the movies are no exception, as their current situation testifies. From having been merely entertainment they have by no means advanced to a point where they threaten to cease being that; nearly a hundred million Americans pay their way into movie houses weekly and I do not hear that this multitude is less entertained than it formerly was. But talk about "the art" grows louder and louder; a certain percentage of the audience is said to be achieving sophistication with respect to theory and technique; and there are abundant signs that Hollywood itself takes a day off now and then to worry about the seriousness of what it produces. All this can be either fortunate or unfortunate and doubtless it is neither thing very clearly. It is, however, the aspect of the movies that seems most worth discussion at the present juncture.

The peril of which I have spoken is greatest in the case of a popular art which has been satisfying some widespread and scarcely conscious need and for which an enormous audience —virtually the whole population—has rapidly and naturally collected itself. In all such cases it should be plain that what the art was accomplishing before it became known as an art was the thing it could best accomplish—was perhaps the only thing it could accomplish—and that this continues to be true. If the movies were entertaining, for instance, they should still be that. And if they were popular they should by the same token hold on to their vast audience. Furthermore, if the persons responsible for their success—the producers, the directors, the writers, the photographers, the actors—have never quite

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known the reasons for it they should persist in that same ignorance, at least as long as the success endures.

I am not offering, I hope, a counsel of stupidity. There is plenty of stupidity at Hollywood and elsewhere and some movies are certainly much better than others; nor should any movie-goer pretend to like what he despises. It is particularly important that a movie-goer should not pretend that a dull picture is an interesting one. But this is what a great deal of solemn talk has been forcing him to do in recent years and it is against such talk as well as against such misguided solemnity that I write. The talk is inspired by the belief that the movies, being an art, should be "dignified," "valuable," "true," "improving" and what not. My point is a very simple one. Movies can be most dignified by being most clearly themselves and, since they are after all very truly an art, by being interesting. There is nothing more vicious in criticism than the distinction to which college students for example, are so prone, the distinction between the interesting and the good in books, painting, or music. The interesting *is* the good and any criticism which serves to submerge the fact is more than wrong; it is harmful, not merely to the art in question but to the people whose pleasure in it is thereby decreased. The movies began by being simply interesting; indeed so much so that an evening in attendance upon them was assumed to be, and still is generally assumed to be, a sure cure for fatigue, boredom and mental or spiritual inanition. I cannot think of such an institution as anything but valuable, which is the reason why I look with some trepidation at many attempts to "dignify" what already filled a profound human need. It may be unfortunate that our society cannot entertain itself with conversation, folk dances, ballads sung to the lyre or the lute and romances recited by minstrels while we sit around on straw-littered earthen floors. But that is another issue, not to be argued here. I am assuming the society which we have and which has its own notions as to the way it prefers to be entertained.

The happiest movie-goer is still, I think, the one who walks

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more or less regularly around to his neighborhood house and passes in without inquiring what is on the bill or who, if he does inquire with a glance at the posters, remembers that a given movie never perfectly declares itself until it is being seen. The newspaper critic Monday morning may have been wrong or right about it; there is no telling. The neighbors have delivered several verdicts which cancel one another out. The star whose name occupies the prominent space on the poster was acceptable in her last film and indeed she may be our citizen's favorite actress but that does not mean that she will suit the story tonight. The title may be exciting and may call up a subject very prominent just now in the news, but what of that? It may be a sea picture, a Western, a gang film, a society fable, a kid thing, a comedy, or one of those that take place on transcontinental trains, with narrow mahogany doors constantly swinging for shiny black porters to come through; yet experience has taught our friend that none of these categories is safe in itself. There have been poor examples of each, just as there have been good examples, and maybe this next one will prove that the possibilities have at last been exhausted. He will, in other words, refrain from expecting anything in particular from his evening. All he will expect is that he will be absorbed in what he sees. He hopes he will be absorbed and of course he has every right to do so. And we should trust him to be quite frank on this point when he comes out blinking at eleven o'clock.

What he will see if he is fortunate is a story being told by cameras. The movie was invented, I am sure, to tell stories and the one way it can perform this function well is through photography. It is the only way in fact that it has, and the result of forgetting the limitation is always fatal. The history of the art is bound up with no other principle. The great mistakes have consisted in departing from it and the great successes have followed upon its rediscovery. The great directors, from D. W. Griffith to Alfred Hitchcock, have never lost sight of the fact that the art of the movies is not a verbal art. Words have come

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in with the "talkies" but a decade of effort has so absorbed them into the primary function that they are no longer disturbing as they once were—and indeed the term "talkie" has ceased to be in common use. We still go to "movies" and can take the dialogue in our stride. The gloomy predictions that dialogue would kill the art have only their historical interest, for the art managed not to forget its original function. Like most such innovations this one slowed up its development for a while. A silent picture of 1927 or 1928 was likely to be superior in sophistication to any talkie of 1931. Had not audiences been trained to interpret movement, gesture, change of scene and flutter of symbol—and to interpret these things with the eye alone? Sometimes we had to lean over and talk to our neighbors about what was going on. "He thinks she is behind the door." "That window was not open before; the burglar must have entered while the party was going on downstairs." "This is the girl who fainted at the factory." And so on. We can no longer indulge in such confidences. We must be as silent as the films themselves used to be. But we have regained our visual sophistication, we still have need of a trained eye. The most interesting of current movies still move and could be followed without serious loss by a deaf spectator. Something would of course be missed yet not the main thing, which as always consists of a series of transformations in plastic material.

The movie-goer, then, has gone in to see a story told, not to hear it told or in any other fashion to be talked at. He will not always get what he wanted. And usually when he gets something far off the track of his desires the fault will lie with a director or a producer who has forgotten the movie principle. Of late the radical error of producers has consisted in believing that the art can be elevated above its natural level by the screening of masterpieces from other arts, particularly the arts of the theater and of prose fiction. They have been trying to make movies which seemed less like movies than like plays or, if a famous novel was the source, they have wanted to hear from the public that the movie is good because it is

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faithful to the novel and in some sense a substitute for it. The error is serious, for it consists in ignoring the limits of the movie art and no art can be elevated by ceasing to be itself. Movies made from classics are by and large inferior in interest to movies made out of the material traditional to them—out of material indeed which has no name and which cannot be recognized until it appears in its proper form. Our movie-goer is, I hope, an honest man. If he is he will admit both to himself and to anyone who asks his opinion that many an unheralded movie was more absorbing while he saw it, was more authentically exciting or amusing, than any heavily advertised classic on which the producing company was known to have spent two million dollars. There is no necessity that this should be the case. A movie made from a novel by Dickens, for instance, could be a very fine movie indeed. But the director should have had his eye on the movie and not on Dickens—which is usually not the case.

Movies should model themselves on their sources not with more respect than they do but with less, and indeed with no respect at all for material in the source which does not permit of translation into the language of movie art. The reason that Shakespeare has so far not been a genuine success at Hollywood is partly at least that Hollywood has been buffaloed by his name—also, of course, by a long tradition in criticism which ridicules movies for changing, cutting, expanding and otherwise transforming their sources. Whereas the truth is that any movie must transform a novel or a play almost out of recognition if it is to make a veritable movie out of it. That was what Shakespeare did to his sources, whether they were sections of Holinshed's *Chronicles* or other men's plays or novels from Italy. Shakespeare never hesitated to suppress an ending which did not suit his purpose, to add one which did, to invent anywhere from one to ten new characters, to change their dispositions and roles in accordance with the theme he had settled upon, to lighten or to deepen the tone of his original. He was particularly brilliant at condensation but he could equally well

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elaborate, the point being that he considered himself free to do what he chose and felt his only duty to be towards his own theater and his own art. Most of his transformations are made in the interests of poetry or poetic effects, of which he is still the world's master. But I suspect that for this very reason he would expect another art to transform him in the interests of its own effects, whatever they might be. He probably would hope that some equivalent might be found for his poetry but he would know better than most people that the equivalent would look, sound and feel very different from the thing itself. He would know, too, how difficult it is to produce such equivalents. He had himself been buffaloed, by Plutarch. The Roman plays lack the naturalness and vivacity of the English and the Italian plays. This was because Shakespeare recognized in Plutarch an excellent artist whom one was reluctant to alter; an artist also who offered few hints for alteration since there were next to no cracks in his surface. Shakespeare would not or could not remold Plutarch completely to his purposes; hence a certain stiffness in the Roman plays. They have the air of being more "important" than interesting. And that is what happens to most movies which are taken too respectfully from the classics by producers who have grown hypersensitive to the charge that the movies change things—that is, are an art in their own right. The spectator is encouraged to tell himself, not what a fine movie this is he is seeing but how great Shakespeare was. Shakespeare was very great but the fact is irrelevant. He can still be read, and for that matter there are theaters which give his plays from time to time.

In the case of a contemporary or recent play the situation is somewhat different though the dangers are just as real. For better or worse the movie camera has become a moving thing; it tilts, turns around, sweeps a scene, advances and retreats, opens and shades its eyes. It achieves the fadeout, the closeup and many other special effects which by now are as much a part of the whole technique of the movie as blank verse was a part of Shakespeare's technique. These effects invariably alter a

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play—unless to be sure they are not used at all and the movie in question becomes nothing more than a photograph of *Winterset* or *The Plough and the Stars*. We need hardly consider the latter possibility since it no longer exists and since there is no living director who would have so little respect for himself as to come in like the photographer at a wedding. Every director in this situation tries to make a movie, not a play. But there are many qualities of a play that do not come over into the other art directly. The chief difference has to do with the fixed scene. The audience at a play knows how to accept the three walls of a room or half of a street or a few forest trees as the whole setting of an act whereas the audience at a movie has learned to expect that the point of view and the amount of anything being seen will constantly change. The exits in a play are all visible all of the time; in a movie only one is attracting our attention at any given moment—that through which someone happens to be walking or running. This difference might appear to be slight or "merely technical" but it is really of great significance. The dramatic qualities of a play can easily leak out between the shifts in point of view; and on the other hand some of them can be too much intensified by the closer glance we give them. The movie director, then, will need to know quite precisely what he wants each of his effects to be and if there is nothing in the play to give him this effect he will have to invent something which will, or if there is something in the play which will not count in the movie he must relentlessly suppress it. But the directors have listened too long, or most of them have, to those who say that movies change too much. So they change too little, with the result that we get something not only different from the play, as any movie would have to be, but inferior to it; and certainly we get something far below the level of the average movie conceived and executed in pure studio terms.

Too much respect for a novel, particularly if it is a long one, results either in unintelligibility or in dulness. And this is most true when the director's ambition has been to please the author

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of the novel or his devotees, to flatter him with a faithful copy. Here again it is perhaps plain that the spectator should be thinking not of the novel but of the movie; if his attention is split between the two it is of course not attention. A novel is usually too long to pass in its entirety into the form of a film. *David Copperfield* should have been five or six movies, not one. The effort to get it all into one two-hour film ruined the latter parts if it did not render them unintelligible. They were intelligible to any spectator who remembered Dickens and supplied what was missing; but as I have suggested, the attention should not have been encouraged to wander in any such fashion. Those who saw the movie will have most clearly in their minds that earlier portion of it in which Mr. Murdstone (Basil Rathbone) played so sinister a part in the young hero's life. That was a movie in itself, the natural end of it being the arrival of David at Betsey Trotwood's house after his walk from London to Canterbury. Betsey Trotwood's house should have been the scene of a second movie, Mr. Wakefield's house the scene of a third, and Peggotty's the scene of still a fourth, not to speak of a fifth with Dora as heroine. These latter movies were as a matter of fact huddled and incomplete as we saw them fragmentarily two years ago; they were true neither to Dickens nor to themselves, and I suspect that a spectator ignorant of the novel must have had much difficulty with them. It is the ignorant spectator who must be the judge in all such cases—which reminds me that I enjoyed *Romeo and Juliet* much more the second time I saw it than the first because I was surrounded the second time by a great many people who seemed to be unaware of the catastrophe that was coming at the close and they communicated to me their special degree of suspense. It was as if I too were unaware that Romeo was destined to drink the poison and that Juliet was bound to stab herself.

The movies that derive most successfully from fiction are taken either from novels which fame has not sanctified (*The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *The Informer*, *The Clansman*) and which

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therefore lay no chilling hand on the director, or from obscure sketches and short stories like those which inspired *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* and *The Ghost Goes West.* Returning to Dickens for a moment, there is the highly successful film called *Scrooge* which comes to this country every Christmas from England and which is based on the *Christmas Carol.* That is the length which is usable; it allows for development to the full possibilities of the tale and offers a single effect procurable within the time limit at the director's disposal.

Our movie-goer will educate himself in the history and theory of the art at his own risk. If he holds on to the original and fundamental principles there will be no risk and he will enjoy what he sees all the more for having some wisdom about it. He may, for instance, proceed to read the excellent analysis of the movie which Mr. Mortimer Adler has recently provided in the closing section of his long volume, *Art and Prudence,* and thereby enrich his understanding of the processes involved in the collaboration of many experts to produce any film at all, let alone a good one—which, indeed, will then seem even more than before a marvel in his eyes. But if he loses contact with the principle he will go astray as many highbrows do.

He will haunt, for instance, only the little movie houses where foreign films are shown to students of the "cinema." I have not so far mentioned the films of Russia, Germany, France and England, and I certainly do not wish on this late page to suggest that I consider them either uninteresting or unimportant. Indeed the best living director so far as I know is an Englishman, Alfred Hitchcock, and *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is almost a model of what a film should be. But the haunter of foreign or artful films is likely to be a pedant of some sort and by dismissing Hollywood without further thought he is absenting himself from that great audience which is the life as well as the desperation of the art. Much trash comes out of Hollywood but much that is powerful and fascinating comes out of it too. It is still the capital of the art

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and as such has many valuable secrets in its possession. A true lover of the movies is not committed for or against Hollywood. He goes to see what is around the corner for him to see and he can trust himself to know whether it is really interesting or not.

Nor is he likely to forget that what the movies can do best is to tell stories and that they are the prime medium through which that indispensable function is exercised in modern society. One of the pedantries now current is that movies are more valuable for something else—for the thing we have got into the habit of calling documentary. Newsreels, travelogues, studies of other races and natural backgrounds—these are maintained to be the proper business of the film. I like such things as well as anybody, but I cannot agree. Movies tell stories, and they tell them in a way that no other art can imitate, just as they cannot imitate the ways in which other arts tell them.

San Francisco Bridge

HENRY MAY, JR.

Slung from the stalwart necks of four steel towers,
Festoons of steel sweep wonderfully down,
Rock-anchored, many-stranded, strong enough
To lift a shining street across the water—
Graceful and confident over wide water.
Watching the water, two men blow smoke over a railing:
"Well, looks like they're almost done."
"Sure does."
"How much is it costing? Seventy-five million, they tell me."
"Uh huh."
"Would you look at the size of that tower with the ship going past it?
Look at that little guy way up there on the catwalk,
Waaay up there.
Geez, wouldn't that be a hell of a job for you?"
"Sure would."
"Biggest bridge in the world."
"Yeah."

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San Francisco Bridge

Gigantic through Embarcadero fog,
The legs of towers stand as square as doom,
Steel and concrete, impregnable, inhuman.
They carry a shining street, but we can't see it;
We are too close to see, and anyway
There is no room for beauty on these docks.
We only see the ships, and oily water
Lapping the stony feet of ignorant towers.
"Hya, Joe, whatcha doin'?"
"Nothin' much."
"Ever try the bridge, Joe?"
"Yeah."
"No soap, huh?"
"No soap."
"Christ some guy must be makin' a lot of money outta that thing."
"Yeah, some crook."
"I'd like to work on that thing. It'd be swell to work on something like that."
"Maybe."

From Telegraph Hill the bridge is bright and tiny.
(So many things are small from Telegraph Hill.)
Stretching from streets and docks to slow brown hills
A glittering wire, strung with delicate towers
Relieves the sunny smoothness of the Bay.
Mr. McFee, the artist
(That is, he writes stories)
Likes to sit on his Riviera terrace.
(Watch him, I betcha he's thinking up a story.)
"That bridge now, I might do a little thing about that.
Design, perfection, pattern.
Still, might sound like Civic Betterment.
How about the Communist angle; that's certainly being done.
Progress, cooperation, comrades.
No, I'm afraid not. H'mmm.
Don't cross your bridges before they're hatched; heh heh heh.
Heh heh."

Between the monoliths of lower Market
The bridge is a sector of steel, half a festoon,
The gleaming tip of a tower, slender, confident.
"HUP Mokket, Mokket Cah,

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CITY of Paris, shopping distRICT."
("Bus leaves for Chinatown, genuine Chinese joss-house.")
"HALLaway up Mokket!"
(The tubby gentleman approaches the car)
"Hey, 'Zaminaw, Krawnickle,
Pappy, misteh?"
(Oh I hope it isn't war; yes, I'll get one.)
BRITAIN DROPS SANCTIONS
LANDON STATES VIEWS
POPE HITS COMMUNISTS
HITLER HITS JEWS
(Always strikes and trouble, why can't they tell more about the Bridge. That's going to be a great thing for the city, what with the fair and all.)
"AWRIGHT, STEP ABAWD! STEP ABAWD!
Can't stand still here mister. HUP Mokket!"
(Risking his life, the gentleman swings aboard.)

Only at night the Bay is cool and quiet.
Gleaming from black infinity ascend
Square and serene, these monuments of stone.
Enormous corners, set with warning lights,
Glitter along the tips of silent ripples.
What do you mean, incredible strength of stone,
Built to remain when cities die in flames,
Built to endure the end of this my city?
Already guns (this is a violent city)
And bayonets have licked the Embarcadero.
What do you mean, incredible arcs of steel,
Merciless incidental beauty of steel,
Built out of sweat and danger, touched by death—
Built from a plan, to speed our city's future.
Order and peace? It will be long I fear
Before the struggle dies on Market Street.
Order and peace? This is a lusty city.
Watcher return. Neither the world nor you
Will die tomorrow. Return, now is no time
To stand by quiet water asking questions.
Return to zeal and anarchy. . . . But first
Discern the fearless tower, follow and see
Against deep sky the curve of soaring steel,
Graceful and confident over infinity.

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Hurdles for Young Doctors

HUGH CABOT

IT IS less than half a century since there was no problem of choice as to type of medical practice, at least in this country. All physicians began their careers as general practitioners and some gradually developed into experts in more narrow fields. But today, with the enormous increase in the knowledge which a young physician must bring to the practice of medicine, a choice between general practice and various subdivisions of the field is not only essential but one in regard to which plans must be laid probably quite early in his educational preparation. I am aware that there is much weighty opinion in support of the older view that the education of all physicians should be similar, at least up to the time of graduation from the medical school. With this opinion I do not agree.

There is a tendency nowadays to draw a distinction between the general practitioner and the family physician. Whether such a distinction is of importance I am not prepared to say, but it is common to define the general practitioner as one who assumes to have adequate knowledge of the whole field of medicine and will undertake responsibility for all the ills, accidents and conditions with which his patients may be faced. The family physician is defined by these same people as one who assumes a general oversight over the whole family but who will not undertake to deal with many of the conditions which may develop. He will, for instance, not undertake the care of obstetrical patients. He may entirely discard all surgical problems, even of a minor nature, while at the same time assuming a more general advisory attitude that comprehends not only general directions for the care of health but the carrying out

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of the many and varied preventive measures which are today essential to reasonable health.

Now it must be obvious at the outset that any young physician or medical student who proposes to undertake a general or family practice must have a very broad and comprehensive training. Presumably he must have been exposed to those academic influences alleged to produce culture. Certainly he must have something more than a bowing acquaintance with psychology, the problems of heredity and the many and increasingly complicated problems of sociology. This appears to me to require a more varied, and in many respects more fundamental, training than will be required by those who limit their field of work to some specialty. The general practitioner assumes by definition the function of a general adviser, and he will early come to recognize that something like half of the problems which produce in his patients symptoms likely to be attributed to disease are in fact due to the various and complicated failures of adjustment to environment which may be economic, social or moral. It is probably true that half of the patients seen by the general practitioner will not prove to have any abnormal condition upon which science has yet put a label. Yet, mind you, he is expected under the pronouncements of the "powers that preside over the practice of medicine" to be able to deal, and satisfactorily, with 85 per cent of the ills to which the flesh is heir. I want to disclaim belief in this dogma. To my mind such omniscience is quite beyond the capacity of the human mind and it seems to me inconceivable that anyone can have even the most superficial knowledge of any such proportion of the conditions that masquerade as disease.

Not the least of the burdens of the general practitioner is the obligation to decide when his own knowledge is insufficient and when, therefore, to call in the services of a consultant or specialist. It is implicit that the general practitioner will not assume to know more than he does and that he will be at all times willing to seek assistance or advice. But under modern

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conditions the calling of a consultant or specialist will have aspects other than those pertaining only to the care of the patient. Obviously the consultant and specialist must be paid and equally obviously their fees are likely more or less to invade the returns he can properly expect from his practice. This at once presents a conflict in which his whole duty to his patient may run counter to his economic welfare. At the present time this situation often appears as a serious dilemma and is, perhaps, one of the outstanding weaknesses in the present pattern of the practice of medicine.

Even though he be not unduly worldly-minded the youngster trying to decide whether or not he will plan to enter general practice must look at the question of income. He should face the fact that his income will be importantly less than that of the consultant or the specialist. It is widely believed that the income of the general practitioner today is less than his value to the community would entitle him to receive. This discrepancy grows largely out of the fact that his work is less spectacular than that of his more specialized brethren. In coming to the decision to undertake general practice he ought also to take account of his intellectual qualifications. A general practitioner should probably be a better judge of human nature than the specialist. The general practitioner will be more successful if he has the type of mind able to generalize correctly from relatively insufficient data. And above all things he will need an agreeable personality and what used to be called "a good bedside manner."

To my mind it would be highly desirable, and is more often possible than we are in the habit of believing, for a youngster who knows, as many of them do, during his high school years that he proposes to practice medicine to begin at that time to study the question of what type of practice he will undertake. By coming to this decision by the time he enters college he will be able to obtain some acquaintance with philosophy and psychology, economics and sociology. These seem to me of real importance. His time in the medical school will probably

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necessarily be spent much as that of his brethren but his internship should be spent in more varied fields and should be of longer duration than has generally been thought requisite equipment for general practice. It has been the habit in the past to allow students to go out into general practice with the confidence that they can fill the bill after one year of ordinary internship. Yet it seems to me implicit that the general practitioner must be a more broadly educated person than the specialist, and I do not believe that he can fill the berth which will be required of him in the future unless he has two or three years in contact with masters after his formal medical course is finished.

One may properly assume that in the fields of general medicine and general surgery also a sufficient exposure to culture is essential, though perhaps of a kind different from that desirable in the case of the general practitioner. Clearly these fields are large enough to require of the physician a very broad education. As the terms "general medicine" and "general surgery" are used today they assume that the student or the young practitioner who thus limits his field intends or aspires to be a consultant. This will demand of him a considerably longer period of study after his required medical school course is finished (or at least one longer than is now required of the general practitioner)—one which should properly cover at least five years. As matters have been organized in the past, these five years are three or four years more than has ordinarily been required of his brethren who have entered general practice. That this is a sound arrangement for the future is to me by no means clear. I shrewdly suspect that the general practitioner of the future will require quite as long a period of preparation, though I believe that his time should be differently allocated. If a youngster has decided to hold himself out as an expert in general medicine or general surgery his time, after the expiration of the normal hospital apprenticeship, must be spent also in hospitals and in association with masters in these fields. Though it is

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not widely accepted, I present for consideration the proposition that during the three years following his hospital apprenticeship he should attempt to view at first hand some relatively small division of the general field to which he aspires. In a word, for the consultant in general medicine, now often referred to as the "internist" for reasons which are to me obscure, I think it would be wise if during the period when he is surrounded by masters in the general field he spent an important part of his time, let us say one year, in some relatively small division such as that of diseases of the heart or of the lung or of the digestive system. This will not enable him to become a master in this division of the field but will at least give him some insight into what the word "master" means and, probably more important than anything else, it will convince him that even the great experts in narrow fields fall very short of having a complete knowledge of the subject. In fact it is rather characteristic of the master of a subdivision of medicine that he is likely to be humble rather than arrogant and to show evidence of doubt as to the entire accuracy of his opinions rather than great certainty as to their reliability. But even the limitation of his field to general medicine or to general surgery will leave him needing at his disposal a literally enormous body of knowledge.

Both general medicine and general surgery have been subdividing themselves like the ameba and quite clearly the end is not yet. A young graduate's decision to narrow his field still further and become a specialist should, I believe, be postponed, at least until the end of the hospital apprenticeship and perhaps for a year longer. This is quite contrary to what seems to me wise for those men who elect general practice or general medicine or general surgery. For them I think the decision must be made not later than their entrance into medical school and still better as early as their entrance into college. For the specialist this is not essential. During his apprenticeship in the hospital he should be able to get a fleeting glance at the various

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subdivisions, such as diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat, diseases of the chest, diseases of the digestive system and diseases of children, or if he be more bloodthirsty, abdominal surgery, gynecology or urology.

The decision to take up a specialty will have to be made upon a highly personal basis. The young doctor will have to decide what is his caliber in relation to his brethren. Does he carry the broadside required of the battleship or only the lighter armament appropriate to the torpedoboat destroyer? On these questions I am skeptical of a man's getting any important assistance from others. He will have to come to his own decisions, based upon his own estimate of his own capacity. There are few fields in which that too often shoddy article known as "advice" is less useful.

If the young doctor determines upon a career as a specialist, then he will have to see to it that his foundations in that branch of medicine are unusually secure and, having done this, he will have to make himself master of the present knowledge of the subject. Even more important, he will have to keep himself constantly abreast of progress. In him, failure to be aware of important new facts will be inexcusable.

At the outset the young physician in search of an abiding place must concern himself with problems of general environment. Though the migration of physicians is not undesirable it tends to be distracting and is "hard on the family." The young physician should in the first place narrow his possible locations by deciding in what portions of the country he will be willing to live and to undertake to bring up his family. Thus, in general terms, a youngster familiar with a southern environment may find the North hostile and forbidding in more than the climatic sense. He who has passed his youth on a seaboard is likely to be restless or even homesick in the great plains. Furthermore the young physician must select an environment that offers the social amenities to which he has been accustomed. Though it is, of course, true that man can accom-

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modate himself to very different environments it is I think not conducive to the fostering in him of those qualities of mind which will enable him to develop his possibilities to the fullest. He should face with himself the question of whether he wishes to live in a great city or near the country. Finally, my advice to him is never to come to any conclusion in such matters without looking the situation over at first hand and, what is perhaps more important, if he happens to have taken unto himself a wife to take her along and take her advice because though a given location may be very well suited to him if it is not suited to his wife disaster will result.

After the question of environment has been faced and decided his choice will inevitably be further influenced by the decisions he has made in regard to the type of practice he desires. Under the present pattern of medical service the general practitioner in a small town is likely to find himself the town's handy man, and he will require great energy and great optimism. He will be at the beck and call of everybody. He will frequently be well aware that the article of service he is offering is less good than he would desire to give and could in fact give under better conditions. Hence the need for optimism. As far as his growth and power is concerned the general practitioner is perhaps at his best in a city of moderate size, say from 10,000 to 20,000. Here he will, as a rule, find consultants available and a sufficient number of specialists either there or at not too great a distance. He will find at the hospital, if nowhere else, satisfactory laboratory equipment so that he will not have to omit any desirable investigations in the interest of his patient. If he has decided to limit his field to general medicine or general surgery the small towns are out of the question and a larger place with a moderate population is essential. If he has determined to become a specialist, then for him the larger centers of population will be more productive of results, for the specialist must draw upon a very much larger population than the medical or surgical consultant. For him the cities of 50,000 or more will be desirable.

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There are today at the disposal of the young physician at least four different types of practice. He may decide, so to speak, "to go it alone" as was the habit of all of his forebears. He may think well of the growing tendency of physicians to congregate in groups. He may believe that for him some position commanding a salary will be desirable. Or, finally, he may aspire to a life of teaching and research.

If he selects the first alternative he will fit readily into the present pattern though less readily than his father. But he will find that the necessary scientific equipment, the necessary laboratory investigations and the matter of obtaining opinions from consultants and specialists are not only a time-consuming but perhaps a money-consuming business. He may easily be impressed by the amount of lost motion inevitable in the isolated practice of medicine.

If he thinks well of the group type of practice he must face certain limitations not placed upon his more independent brother. He will have less individual freedom of action. Group practice is not suited to the highly individualistic practitioner of the type that includes many or most of the great figures of the past. His situation will be not incomparable to that of the bachelor as compared with the man of family. The former may within reason do as he pleases; the latter must nourish "the household bruins." On the other hand he may easily find that in association with a group of colleagues he will keep better abreast of the times. He will avoid the time and motion lost in obtaining consultants, and under favorable conditions may well offer to his public a better article of service. There is perhaps another reservation. His income will not depend solely upon his own exertions but will represent his share of the group income and thus involve the success of others. He may often feel that his individual ability entitles him to a larger share of the proceeds and if this be a state of mind into which he readily falls group practice is not for him.

The young physician who is somewhat mistrustful of his ability to hold his own under present-day conditions of com-

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petitive practice may easily find some salaried position attractive. Such openings are to be found today in the Services—the Army, the Navy, the Public Health Service; they are also to be found in industry since to an increasing extent the larger industries are finding it desirable to employ physicians—as a rule with general oversight of the physical condition of their employees but sometimes to participate in very elaborate and satisfactory offerings of complete medical service. Such situations are well thought of by those who seek fancied security. To some extent, at least, they enable the young physician to make plans for the future though as a rule these plans will have to be modest in relation to many in his profession. At best he cannot aspire to a very large income but at worst he will be assured of an income above the lowest 25 per cent of the practitioners of today. Whether or not his search for security will be to his advantage is more problematical. It will at least be worth his while to consider whether such security may not lead to premature intellectual decay. Security and intellectual vigor make poor bedfellows.

Finally he may aspire to a life of teaching and investigation. Such positions require rare men. Though many a medical youngster may aspire to be a teacher—a most noble purpose—but a small number will find themselves really equipped for the business. The great teacher is inspired and often has, I think, many of the attributes of genius. He is not to be made but is born, for better or worse. Not so many years ago the only fields open to such aspirants were those in the so-called fundamental sciences which underlie medicine, such as anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, pathology and bacteriology. In the last twenty-five years, however, the field of choice has widened very much. Practically all of the great medical schools today offer clinical positions in which a man may keep in close touch with the practice of medicine or surgery and yet be largely concerned with teaching and investigation. Such positions will probably increase in number with the increasing demand placed upon the clinical departments of a medical school

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to keep their staff in intimate touch with the other sciences upon which medicine depends. Of course a fortunate youngster may have his cake and eat it too. He may practice medicine, surgery or a specialty and yet hold a minor position in an institution of learning. This is a situation much to be desired since it will not only enable him to give some account of the faith that is in him to those who must carry on the torch, but will, if he fills his position adequately, subject him to the fiercest criticism known to the profession—the criticism of an alert student body.

It has perhaps always been true that an elastic conscience is an important aid to a corpulent income but the increasing complication of medical practice has brought the question of money vs. morals more violently into the foreground. Now medicine is a profession which assumes by definition that its votaries are to a large extent public servants. Characteristically all professions have a code of ethics. Medicine's code of ethics is based upon high ideals and is a wholly satisfactory basis for professional life. But unfortunately the ethics of any profession, and perhaps most strikingly of medicine, lays down rules whose violation is not illegal. Many violations, therefore, of the medical code of ethics are not punishable except by the decrees of medical bodies having no legal authority. For instance the code of ethics decrees it unethical to indulge in advertising but the courts have very generally held that the expulsion of a physician from a medical society for this cause has injured his business and has thus rendered the medical society liable for damages. Particularly of late years "organized medicine" has been very critical of certain kinds of practice, such as contract practice and various aspects of a group practice, which they have thought it proper to declare to be against "public policy." Precisely who endowed medical societies with omniscience in regard to questions of public policy is not to me clear. In any case these practices are not illegal and grave difficulties have arisen.

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But the crying ethical iniquity is fee-splitting. This has everywhere by all organized medical groups been declared immoral and unethical; it is even illegal in some states. The immorality of fee-splitting lies, of course, in the fact that it involves the deception of the patient. There is no immorality, there is no violation of any ethical rule involved in the division of compensation between practitioners *provided always* this is done with the knowledge and consent of the patient. But in spite of its universal condemnation by the profession it has continued to thrive and grow like the proverbial "green bay tree." There are large sections of the country today in which this is the prevailing method of practice. At an earlier day it perhaps arose chiefly through the efforts of some commercially-minded surgeon but today the situation is precisely reversed. Fee-splitting has its origin with the general practitioner who has under his care a large number of patients who do or may require special services. Now ethical considerations require him to select as a consultant or specialist that particular practitioner who is best fitted by his skill and knowledge to deal with that particular situation. Today, however, the selection is all too likely to be made not upon the basis of skill and knowledge but upon an understanding secretly entered into between the general practitioner and the specialist as to the proportion of the surgeon's fee which the general practitioner will receive for referring his patients.

This situation the young practitioner must face in many parts of the country at the very outset of his career and unfortunately it may readily present an insoluble dilemma. I recall the case of a former student of mine who, after very adequate preparation and apprenticeship, assayed to practice general surgery in a large city in this country. He wrote me frequently in regard to his difficulties in knowing how to deal with fellow doctors who, after having sent him a few patients, to whom he offered excellent service, then faced him with a direct question as to what proportion of the fee he was prepared to turn over to them. He finally wrote me in despair as follows: "I say to

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you that it is impossible for an honest man to earn his living in surgery in this city."

With this appalling situation organized medicine has been powerless to deal. The evidence necessary to convict is practically never available. These are cash transactions and there *is* no evidence. Obviously, it seems to me, this plague must either be stamped out or it will require a change in the present pattern of medical service. The fundamental origin of the difficulty is that medicine is today a highly competitive business and too frequently the competition thus described is for money and not for excellence of performance. "Organized medicine" insists that the profession remain an independent competitive group, its members untrammeled by state supervision except as to their original qualifications. This appears to me to involve the danger that increasingly fierce competition in the face of increasing taxation may make fee-splitting the rock upon which medicine as an independent profession will ultimately be shipwrecked. At the present time it is driving many honest men into salaried positions and into group practice. About the latter phase we need not be alarmed, but it must cause profound concern that an increasing number of honest, upright young physicians cannot face the present conditions of medical practice in large areas.

The remedy for this situation lies in the assertion by the public of its profound interest in this problem. The public is of course concerned with the ethical standards of all professions but it seems to me to have a peculiarly intimate concern with the profession that deals with the problems of illness and human life. After all, the physicians are or should be public servants. But at the present time there is no unprejudiced and well-qualified tribunal in this country to adjudicate the conflicts which arise between the public on the one hand and the profession on the other. The medical societies which now deal with the infractions of medical ethics are not representative or unprejudiced. It is abundantly clear that medical opinion upon ethical problems is very far from infallible. On the other

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hand, as the matter stands at present, the courts are not well qualified. They are familiar chiefly with the ethical standards of commerce and with the ethical standards of the legal profession. Moreover there are a considerable group of physicians in this country who are not members of the medical societies and are consequently not amenable to discipline even by this not always well qualified group. The General Medical Council of Great Britain is the only existing arrangement which might be considered as a model for the improvement of our present situation. This is a legally constituted body made up of representatives of the universities giving medical courses, of the various boards conducting examinations for medical qualifications, of the public and of the medical profession. This council has jurisdiction over medical education, sets up a register of qualified practitioners and is required to hear complaints against physicians originating either with the public, that is the patients, or the profession. It constitutes a court which hears the evidence under conditions strictly comparable to the courts of law. From their decision there is no appeal except to the Privy Council.

That it would be possible to apply this precise system to problems in this country is not suggested, but the fact remains that both the public and the profession in Great Britain have direct access to an unprejudiced and very wise tribunal which has successfully dealt with ethical as well as with more strictly legal problems. I am told and believe that the iniquity of fee-splitting, which has cropped up to a small extent in Great Britain, is being satisfactorily controlled through the powers exercised by this Council.

I make no apology for having laid stress upon this "hurdle" for it is one which the young physician must face at the very outset of his practice. His decision taken at that time may well color his whole future.

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Are the Humanities Worth Their Keep?

C. J. DUCASSE

NOT so many decades ago the admissibility of the natural sciences to the curriculum of our colleges was a live question. These sciences had to argue their right to share the noble company of the humanities. But nowadays the question often raised is rather whether the study of the humanities is worth retaining—or at least on what grounds. The natural sciences have put into the hands of man unprecedented power to harness to his ends the forces of nature. The telephone, the airplane, the conquest of disease, mass production etc. which these sciences alone have made possible are very generally held to show that the study of them is worth while. But the study of the humanities bears no fruits of comparably obvious sorts. What then justifies the pursuit of humanistic studies?

I believe that the case for these studies is even stronger today than in the past but it cannot be adequately presented unless we are first agreed as to exactly what "the humanities" shall be held to embrace. Originally that term included a study of the classics, that is, of the finest works of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. But today it includes much more than a study of the masterpieces of other great literatures. Grammar, philology, linguistics and other subjects which although distinct from literature are more or less closely connected with it are classed among the humanities. Archeology, the history of art and in general the history of civilizations would be examples. It appears, then, that the term, "the humanities," has been applied with but little thought to what it should imply and as its application has become more and more

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heterogeneous its implication has correspondingly dwindled more and more nearly to nothing. Our only hope of rescuing the term from its present vagueness and of finding for it a meaning both definite and rooted in realities lies in approaching the problem on the one hand through a conception of what the education of a complete human being involves and on the other hand through an understanding of the specific contributions to it which certain subjects and modes of study alone can make.

When education is mentioned the idea that most readily presents itself is perhaps the belief that education consists in acquiring knowledge of a variety of facts and their relations and in developing the intellectual powers required for the acquisition, organization and application of this knowledge. But evidently this constitutes only an intellectual education. For the development of a complete human being there must be added not only moral education, which aims to establish, as firm habits, the modes of conduct termed ethical, but also education of another sort, less often explicitly mentioned but just as important, the education of his feelings.

The term "feelings" is used in the present connection to refer to two large groups of experiences. One of them, to be called for short the sensations, consists both of sensory impressions and of images of imagination. The other group consists of the feelings that may be called the sentiments. The sentiments comprise emotions, moods and attitudes as well as longings, impulses, dispositions, aspirations, inclinations, aversions—all of these, however, as directly felt rather than as intellectually analysed. This qualification is important, for language has no names for most impulses, dispositions etc. as immediately experienced and therefore is compelled to refer to them as impulses or dispositions *to do so and so*. But such a description of an impulse, by riveting our attention on the actions in which it eventuates, easily deludes us into believing that to experience an impulse is to contemplate some course of action whereas the fact is that every impulse has its own

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peculiar "feel," which we instantly experience whether or not we have as yet learned the actions it leads to.

The common character of the sensations and the sentiments on account of which the common name, feelings, is applied to both is thus their immediacy or intuitiveness—the fact that however much we may learn *about* them we do not know *them* unless we have ourselves felt their intrinsic quality. Feeling, that is to say, is here contrasted with intellectual knowledge as in French *connaître* is contrasted with *savoir* or in German *kennen* with *wissen*. To express this contrast in English William James, it will be recalled, proposed the two terms "knowledge of acquaintance" and "knowledge about."

Education of the feelings, which both requires and makes possible acquaintance with an increasingly wide variety of feelings, brings about the development of the capacity to discriminate among feelings—the capacity to discern among them differences, likenesses and other relations of which we were before unconscious. Discrimination or discernment is commonly described as the capacity to "tell the difference," and this is substantially correct. But more accurately it is the capacity not so much to tell as to notice a difference and, indeed, not exclusively a difference but equally a likeness or other relation to which persons not having had the sort of education now under consideration would be blind.

Only a moment's reflection is needed to perceive how essential a part of the education of a complete man, and how important not only to the sensibilities but often even to the happiness of those with whom he comes in contact is this capacity in him to distinguish nuances of feeling more subtle and relationships between them less obvious than those which spontaneously thrust themselves upon everyone. As it concerns the sensations it constitutes the possession of a developed or cultivated taste. And as it concerns the sentiments this sensitiveness and capacity for fine discrimination alone makes possible the intuitive apprehension of another's temperament and a sympathetic insight into his scheme of values, his motives,

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his problems, his ideals and aspirations, or in general into the meaning or the puzzle which life presents from his unique point of view. It is thus the indispensable foundation for tactful dealing with others and for accurate appreciation of the endless variety of human relationships and human situations. However greatly we admire a man's moral character and his intellectual attainments we perceive an unmistakable lack in him if he does not also possess taste and delicacy of sentiment. A man is not fully human if he is undeveloped in the feeling-dimension of his being. The saying that the road to hell is paved with good intentions and the remark that some men of brilliant intellect are yet scoundrels are but ways of expressing the fact that moral goodness by itself, or intelligence by itself, is not sufficient. But we perceive that even these two together are not enough to make a completely human being when we meet someone who possesses both but is yet crude of taste, or uncouth of manner, or clumsy of speech, or tactless, or emotionally immature, or incapable of discerning appreciation where human beings, as distinguished from things, are concerned.

How, then, may subtlety and delicacy of sentiment and a sensitive, discriminating taste be developed? Man's daily experience in the natural course of his life normally contributes something to this development just as it contributes something also to the growth of his intellectual equipment. But precisely because the range of development which comes thus unaided is usually very limited, there is a universally recognized necessity for a deliberately planned education going beyond that range.

Art is the language of feeling and the works of the various arts are the expression and record in communicable form of the feelings with which their creators were inspired. And works of art provide the means to the desired greater breadth and depth of acquaintance with the immense variety of human feelings, since the attentive contemplation of works of art enables an individual to acquire an experience of endlessly numerous kinds of feelings with which the unaided course of his

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life would certainly have left him unacquainted. The products of the various arts, then, are the uniquely appropriate material for the education of human feelings.

But the distinction made between the sentiments and the sensations is here paralleled by a difference among the arts which roughly, although only roughly, coincides with that between literature and the other arts. It is the difference between art which is dramatic in the broadest sense and art which is on the contrary impersonal. The word dramatic is here used to refer to art which represents persons or any objects or situations in which human hopes and fears or other sentiments are somehow involved; whereas the term impersonal refers to that art in which the subject matter consists essentially of arrangements of sense-qualities—for example of tones arranged in time as in music, or of colors and shapes arranged in space as in designs, or in both space and time as in pictorial dancing etc.

Impersonal art, evidently, is the sort of art which will furnish us the best material for educating our sensuous discrimination as distinguished from our discrimination in matters of human sentiments. Sensuous discrimination will be developed by the study of works of painting, sculpture, music and architecture and likewise of art-objects such as tapestries, furniture, fabrics, jades and ivories, lacquers, wood-carvings, book bindings etc. But it cannot be too much emphasized that for the purpose of developing the sensuous discrimination which constitutes taste in such things, "study" of all these things must mean primarily the direct, personal, intimate, repeated and prolonged observation and comparison of diversified examples. For discursive "knowledge about" such objects (as earlier distinguished from "knowledge of acquaintance" with them) has, for the purpose of developing sensuous discrimination, no importance except insofar as it may prove an aid or a stimulus to the acquisition of such knowledge of acquaintance. Although reading, hearing or talking about works of art may enliven our interest in them and motivate us to a sharper observation of them, nevertheless discourse concerning works of art is never

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a possible substitute for first-hand sensuous observation if our purpose is to develop genuine sensuous discrimination in ourselves and not just to stock our memories, for conversational or lecture purposes, with the recorded results of other people's discerning sensuous observations. Scholars who teach "art appreciation" need constantly to remember this. For scholars are persons whose central interest is in scholarship and whose inveterate tendency is therefore to conceptualize whatever their attention touches and to turn it into a subject of discourse. In the realm of art, however, this means erecting into an end the pursuit of information which at best can be only an aid to the sensitization of taste. It should never be forgotten in this connection that a man who had been blind from birth, but had studied many books, could give a learned lecture about the history and appreciation of painting although himself totally incapable even of telling one color from another; and on the other hand that even exquisitely sensitive painters have for the most part possessed little or no book-knowledge about painting.

Let us, however, now turn particularly to the education of the sentiments as distinguished from the sensations, for education of the sentiments is the fruit which both specifically distinguishes humanistic studies from the studies that deal with nature and at the same time constitutes the ample justification of the former.

One of the subjects most appropriate to the education of the sentiments evidently consists of the kind of art which is dramatic in the broad sense already stated—in that it represents persons and situations and relations in which arise hopes and fears, desires and aversions and the countless other varieties and subtleties of human sentiments. Obviously literature is the one art whose resources in this direction exceed those of all other arts—including under the term, of course, that literature specifically called the drama, but equally all poetry, the story, the novel, and indeed biography also and many aspects of history if considered as stories rather than as stocks of factual information. Such literature makes it possible for the reader who

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lives through imagination in the situations it depicts, and identifies himself imaginatively with the characters it describes, to experience vicariously all the diverse human sentiments which such human beings would experience in such situations and relations. Obviously there could be no opportunity in the reader's own real life for such varied experience, but it is worth while to note that, although the situations and the roles which literature thus permits him to enter or to play are entered or played by him not really but only in imagination, nevertheless the psychological insights obtained in this manner are in no way imaginary but as genuine as any.

Literature is then the subject *par excellence* of humanistic study. But only if it is "studied" in the manner which alone procures to the student actual, first-hand experience of the human sentiments packed into the literary works he reads. And that manner consists in entering imaginatively into and living emotionally in the characters, situations, and relations depicted. On the other hand study which consists in reading about such literature or in technical analysis of it is something which has never, for the education of the sentiments through such literature, been a possible substitute for the reading of the works themselves in the manner just described. For that purpose lectures or reading *about* a literary work have any importance at all only insofar as they may actually aid us to understand more adequately the situations into which, through the reading of the work itself, we attempt to project ourselves in imagination.

The rendering of this sort of aid connects certain other studies, generally classed as humanistic (such as philology, linguistics, archeology and the history of the arts, philosophies and social and political institutions of mankind) with the education of the sentiments. To carry on research in these subjects, however, is something very different from reading literature in the manner appropriate to the education of the sentiments, because research in these subjects is as essentially scientific a pursuit as research directed to a discovery of the laws of nature or anything else; and the sort of education it provides

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is accordingly not education of the sentiments but intellectual education—development of the powers of accurate observation, of scientific explanation and inference, of criticism and construction of hypotheses etc.

Yet these studies may be called humanistic sciences not only because they provide the reader of literature with the sort of information he needs for an adequate understanding of what he reads but also, and chiefly, because although their methods are as scientific as those of the natural sciences their subject matter consists of the history of human societies; and knowledge of the various aspects of other civilizations is capable, when taken in a certain way, of contributing effectively to the education of the sentiments—to the enlargement of our horizon of attitudes, interests, evaluations and the like. When a man speaks to us he is always telling us two stories at once even though we commonly attend to but one of them. One is the tale he actually tells, and it may be about anything. The other is a story about himself—the story constituted by the fact that he, under the circumstances present, does tell us just that tale and tells it to us in just the way he does. The style and the matter of a man's speech or of his writings, it has been said, is a picture of what the man is—of his point of view, his character, his intellectual resources, his tastes, his temperament etc. And all this is exhibited to us, if we but give it our attention, not only when a man expresses himself in language but equally where his mode of expression is of other sorts. How a man walks or sits, what sort of clothes he wears and how he wears them, what sort of house he builds, how he spends his leisure and his money, what he fights for and how he does it, the undertakings to which he devotes himself, the sort of gods he worships, which books he reads, the arts he cultivates and the sorts of products he makes them yield, the modes of conduct and the social institutions which he approves or disapproves—all these things provide us with a picture of the man and of his environment into which we can project ourselves in imagination as effectively as we can into the characters and situations repre-

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sented in the stories he tells, the plays he acts or the books he writes. And if we thus project ourselves imaginatively into the conditions, the modes of thought, the beliefs, the occupations, the customs and other aspects of the lives of members of the societies revealed to us by the sciences which investigate the history of civilizations, the education we obtain in so doing is of the same sort.

To travel abroad, whether in our own country or another, is universally recognized as something well worth doing. The value it has, however, usually lies not in what we can do with the outcome in a practical way but in what the experience does to us—in the broadening, humanizing effects it has upon us if only we do not insist on taking along our own ways, our own views and our own associates intact. But it does not perhaps occur to many that there is such a thing as travelling to foreign times as well as to foreign places and that it is done by studying and entering imaginatively into the various aspects of the history of man revealed to us by the humanistic sciences. And from such travel in time the same sort of educational experience is obtained as from travel in space.

Study which is humanistic in this sense obviously makes to the education of a human being a contribution of a sort he could not get from scientific research, whether in natural or in other fields. But the converse is no less true and to be the education of the whole man an education should include both. It may be insisted, however, that the scientific investigation of the laws of nature and of social phenomena not only educates the intellectual powers as competently as research in the humanistic sciences but in addition yields knowledge of a sort that brings with it the power to bend its objects to the service of human ends; whereas neither the study of literature nor the pursuit of the humanistic sciences does this.

But although this is true a knowledge of the history of human civilizations, including their contemporary history, provides economics, sociology and political science with the concrete data which constitute both their indispensable bases and

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the tests of the validity of their attempts to become theoretical sciences—sciences setting forth the natural laws according to which social phenomena occur. For only the harmony of a theory with the concrete facts assures us that the theory represents a law of nature and not mere speculation. And in the social sciences, where the possibility of using the experimental method is (as in astronomy though for different reasons) relatively limited, the concrete facts by which theories have to be tested are largely historical facts.

Aside from this, however, when the utility of the natural sciences is insisted upon it is important, if we hope for a sane perspective, to keep two facts clearly in mind. Although the applications of natural scientific knowledge have, whether for better or for worse, transformed human life in the last few generations, only a small fraction of the fruits of the research carried on in the fields of natural science has been drawn upon in these applications. The bulk of these fruits has no utilitarian applicability that anyone can now discern, and very likely never will have. It is true that discoveries apparently most useless have time and again turned out eventually to have great practical importance—and it is often insisted that this chance would alone justify all scientific research. But although this may well be granted, to insist upon it is to paint a false picture of the place of research in the life of man. Most research is in fact carried on by those engaged in it not because of the applications its results may turn out to have but because of its fascination—because the passion for knowledge is one of the most powerful of motives. And this avid interest in knowledge is not something limited to the few who carry on the research. The public at large, just so far as it is enabled to understand what the problem is and how it is attacked, is likewise fascinated by it, and with the same disregard of the possibilities for practical application. The discovery of a new planet is front-page news and so is the discovery of a new Egyptian tomb or of fossilized dinosaur eggs although the "practical" utility of each is nil.

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To represent man as being essentially utilitarian in the sense that he values and is willing to make sacrifices only for things which, like electric motors and other machines or materials, can minister to his material needs or comforts is thus grossly to distort the facts. The plain truth is that by taste man is fundamentally imaginative rather than "practical" and that he pays to considerations of practical utility as little attention as he can afford to. It is the ruthlessness of nature that forces him to give heed to such considerations. And natural science, which today has reached the point where it is able to command nature, is hailed as a savior precisely because it is already freeing man from his dawn-to-dusk slavery to "practical" pursuits and opening to him a life in which he can give larger parts of his time and energy to the things he really wants to do. Although the practically applicable fruits of natural science thus constitute the necessary foundation for a life different from that which the mass of mankind has always lived, this foundation is humanly worth having at all only because of the superstructure it can support. Of that superstructure the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is an intrinsic part, but so is man's development of his faculties other than the scientific, and so is the humanizing of his relations with his fellows. Great as are the blessings we owe to the natural sciences it must not be forgotten that these sciences know nothing of good or evil. They place in our hands powers which, compared with those we have had hitherto, are as dynamite to a popgun; but they do not make us any less selfish or greedy or any more honest, truthful, kindly or wise than before. And man therefore turns to them both for poison gas and for anesthetics. Natural science is not to be blamed for the evil ends to which men again and again turn the knowledge it gives them; but if society, now equipped with immense powers, is not to destroy itself through their misuse the need today, more crying than ever before, is for the humanization of man.

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If Lewis Sits Down in Mexico

CHESTER LLOYD JONES

SHOULD John L. Lewis come to Mexico this fall as he has been invited to do and as Mexican labor leaders are confident he will, presumably he will be taken in charge by Vincente Lombardo Toledano. The two are the outstanding leftists in the labor movements of their countries but there the likeness stops. Each represents a type. I knew both when they were younger men.

Up from the mines, Lewis has had the harder life and the larger experience in labor activity. Religion touched him deeply in his early years as it touches Welshmen. As he has matured, the cause of labor has become a second religion. In appearance phlegmatic, he is that sort of Celt who long holds his wrath to keep it warm and goes into action only with full steam up.

Lombardo Toledano has both a different history and a different technique. Born of well-to-do parents of Puebla, his background was never as drear as that of Lewis. His was a family of landowners, but not of great landowners. His education in the University of Mexico has been supplemented by training in the United States and by European travel. Young Mexicans of his generation have had either a Catholic or a non-religious, pseudo-philosophical background. Lombardo Toledano has the latter. But as a youngster he was caught up in the anti-Church enthusiasm of the Revolution. In his mature life he has felt Catholicism to be so malignant an influence that he has become one of its most bitter critics. He is now a staunch supporter of the Revolution, which its advocates maintain is not a past or a passing phenomenon but a continuing political institution—almost a mode of living. Slight of build, quick in action and in intellectual reflex, Lombardo Toledano is a good example of what the world thinks of as Latin characteristics, though like

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many of the new generation in Mexico he may prefer to emphasize the New-World factors in his origin and outlook. Vivacious, magnetic, confident, and relentless in forcing his reasoning to its conclusions, he is now the greatest influence in Mexican labor circles.

If the two leaders confer in the capital of the greatest of the Latin American states of the northern hemisphere the representative of the C. I. O. may be met at the Colonia Station by the leader of the C. T. M.—the Confederation of Mexican Workmen—and driven to the modest national offices centrally located near the Alameda Park and the Palace of Fine Arts, the greatest physical monument of the now unmourned Díaz dictatorship which ruled the country from 1876 to 1910.

They will talk in no dignified, modern, thickly carpeted, air-conditioned offices and sit in no deep, leather-cushioned chairs. The guest will have climbed the well-worn stone stairway of a building dating from long before the Mexican labor movement was born. He will have passed through a waiting room in which groups of gesticulating partisans await their turns to present demands to the head of the "Conflicts Section," the "Propaganda Division" or whatever branch of the Confederation's work they feel will get the quickest action in their contests with capitalism. Mr. Lewis will breathe the same air of conflict which he enjoys at home. From the walls look down posters from beyond the national borders, showing the interest of Mexican leaders in the world problems of labor. But the men before each desk will declaim about immediate local problems. They will speak forcefully, for over each officer's chair is a card which states "My time belongs to all. Be brief." The C. T. M. is a going concern and this is its business office.

The American will speak from a longer background of experience in labor matters but the Mexican will show a more rapid development of program and outline a more far-reaching ambition. The American labor struggle was old when Lewis joined it, but until after the Díaz régime no real Mexican labor movement existed. Even strikes were then illegal. One which

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broke out in the Orizaba region in 1907 resulted in rioting, ruthlessly repressed by federal troops. But the revolution which shortly followed brought rapid crystallization of the demands of labor, the adoption of the radical Constitution of 1917, followed by a steady elaboration of supplementary legislation to strengthen and extend the rights which the new charter sought to assure.

Mexican ambitions go much farther than those of American labor. In the past, at least, the responsible leaders in the United States have frankly accepted the capitalist system. They have sought a greater share in the profits which the capitalistic system of industry made possible. This is the traditional position of the A. F. of L. and has not been repudiated by the C. I. O. Mexican demands at one time seemed to follow the same line but now seek the socialization of all national wealth and—in the long run at least—the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

Practice often lags behind theory. It does so in Mexico. In a general espousal of socialism the revolutionary government and the labor leaders see eye to eye. But neither advocates making a full-fledged socialistic state of Mexico immediately. The governments have hesitated. Obregón, who in 1920 brought order after the first ten years of the revolution, and following him Calles, once the popular idol but now anathema to the radical in both government and labor circles, frankly admitted the continuing need of the cooperation of foreign capital. Their successors continued to do so. The C. T. M. agrees that for the present if foreign capital will come to Mexico under the conditions Mexico lays down it will be welcome. Domestic capital *a fortiori* will not be upset. But Mexico must in any case retain its freedom to socialize both agriculture and industry.

Actualities still bear strong contrast to theory. Socialization of landholding has gone farthest, but one-third of the national area is still held in large estates and private ownership is still recognized in a large part of the remainder. Only about 6 per cent—chiefly in the better lands—has been confirmed to the

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semi-communal village "ejidos." In industry actual "socialization" has hardly made a beginning, if the few attempts at government industries and the new government management of railroads be excepted. The plain fact seems to be that neither the government nor labor feels confident that it has found the bridge between the existing system and the one proposed, or if either feels the bridge has been found it hesitates to cross it. Lewis has here, it seems, a clearer-cut program of action than Lombardo Toledano.

Who are they who are to be drawn into the "labor movement" in both countries? Are laborers in agriculture to be included? That ambition has appeared in both. But difficulties attend such a plan in both. The exclusion of agriculture would still leave Lewis a large clientele, for the United States is a highly industralized country. Nevertheless, if a formula for unionizing the "farmer-labor" population could be found it would be welcome, especially in current years when agriculture exerts so powerful an influence in Congress. But farmers want cheap labor—on the farms—high prices for what they sell and cheap prices for the products of industry. None of these things does industrial labor want. So the formula is hard to find in the United States. For Lombardo Toledano the cooperation of labor is more important but may be increasingly hard to secure. Mexico is distinctly an agricultural country and industrial labor is only a small fraction of the total. So small is the fraction indeed that what labor has won it has secured only through the pressure which a well-organized group can exert upon the government and the public in which other groups are less ably led. To be sure, Mexican farm laborers have heretofore been landless, more in the position of wage workers than in the United States. That seemed to establish a basis of cooperation. But the program of the government is to give land to the landless. As the policy assumes reality the basis of cooperation is weakened. Here also Lewis stands in a stronger position than Lombardo Toledano.

Whether labor as labor should enter politics has been a knotty

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question in both countries. In the United States the traditional position of labor has been against alliance with any political party. The tradition may be passing. Clearly government has in recent years made itself the champion of labor as never before and the more aggressive labor groups have declared their party preference and expected reward for the aid given. In Mexico, however, the labor movement was from the beginning or at least at the beginning closely identified with politics. The laboring class was the backbone of the revolution. The new constitution made itself the champion of labor, and the support of labor leaders has been sought by and granted to succeeding administrations. Obregón bid for labor support. Calles made the then great leader of labor, Luis N. Morones, a member of his cabinet, and later presidents have been eager to be considered the heads of "labor governments."

Government alliance and material support proved a great stimulant to membership in the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, popularly known as the CROM, the greatest of Mexican labor organizations until the rise of the C. T. M. It rose from a claimed membership of 10,000 in 1919 to 1,500,000 in 1925. As a matter of fact its strength was never equal to its nominal membership. Probably not more than a fifth of the adherents ever paid their dues.

But present-day leaders of labor in Mexico feel that government alliance presents more disadvantages than advantages. Governments do not move forward fast enough. Cooperation with governments may bring government control of labor. Administrations once in power tend to shift to the right in their policies—at least in Mexico. They want to cooperate with capital, to bring peace between employer and employed, whereas the object of the labor movement is to carry on a continuing conflict. Succeeding governments, the leaders of the C. T. M. maintain, have shown a tendency to sell out labor. Therefore the real champions of Mexican labor have, they assert, become dissatisfied with political action. Lombardo Toledano resigned his membership in the CROM in 1932. With others of the dis-

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contents he backs the more radical C. T. M. To them the CROM is only a government agency. The new organization will be free. It is through with formal cooperation with government but will force the government to act as it demands. Working out of Puebla the new organization now has branches in all parts of the country and claims to have 500,000 members —though it admits that the majority do not pay their dues of five centavos (about one and one-half cents) a month. The CROM has declined. Its opponents say it now has only between 20,000 and 25,000 members. Evidently Mexican labor feels that it has tried cooperation with government, such as American labor has now begun, and found it wanting.

"Who really controls the labor movement in Mexico?" Mr. Lewis might ask. Lombardo Toledano would reply that the old CROM claimed to be organized on a democratic basis but never was so. It was controlled from the beginning to the time of its greatest power by a small *Grupo Acción* of 18 to 20 members in which Morones was a virtual dictator. Indeed he still dominates it. Is the C. T. M. more democratic? Its members claim it is. This does not mean that it does not have a central directing group. It is called the Comité Nacional, and is a close body controlled by Lombardo Toledano—but reelection of the members of the group is prohibited. The difference does not, on the face of things, seem great. There is no doubt that the C. T. M. is run from the top, and Latin Americans have ways of getting around prohibitions against reelection. Will the nominal leadership be passed on by Lombardo Toledano at the end of his term to young Mr. Villaseñor or to some other of the half dozen members who really count while the former chief continues a power behind the throne? Will Lombardo Toledano resign shortly before his term ends, giving place to a substitute and thus avoiding an "immediate reelection," or will the prohibition be removed at the last minute or the term of office be extended without changing the rule? All such expedients have precedents and after all, in Mexico as in the United States, those who enjoy power enjoy having it continue.

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But if the meeting between Lewis and Lombardo Toledano occurs they will be more interested perhaps in exchanging views as to what has been won for labor than in reviewing the origins, aims and relations to government of their respective labor movements. They may even discuss what has been done for labor more than their own chances of continuing in control. We may imagine the conversation:

Lewis: What is the status of your strike practice? You have won the right to strike but how about picketing? It still causes us a lot of trouble in the States.

Lombardo Toledano: Oh, we have passed far beyond that phase in Mexico. If a majority of the workers go on strike we lock the doors of the plant and put the red and black flag of C. T. M. across it. That is all there is to it. There is no picketing because the employer under the law can't hire scabs to break the strike. I can show you struck plants thus closed within three blocks of this office. The employer cannot open till the strike is settled.

Lewis: That sounds fine. What do you think of the "sit-down" strike we have been using up north?

Lombardo Toledano: We've tried it. We had one at Monterrey sometime ago. It failed. We think it a poor way of carrying on the class struggle. We've discarded it.

Lewis: But how do you get the workers to stand together? How can you be sure that you can get the majority vote necessary to close the plant?

Lombardo Toledano: Organize the workers! Then by law the employer must make his labor contract with the syndicate set-up. After that if a majority votes to strike, close the shop.

Lewis: That does get a "closed shop" indeed! When the strike is called what can you do to bring a settlement? Does it go back to a struggle to see who can stick it out longer?

Lombardo Toledano: Oh no! We went beyond that long ago. We have the government back of us to force the employers and the workers to appoint representatives who must appear before boards of conciliation which decide whether the strike

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is legal or not. On the board sit one member for each of the parties and one for the government. *But* (a pause) remember that our governments are themselves pro-labor. It is our job to keep them so. Remember, too, that by law a strike for higher wages, better working conditions and shorter hours *is* legal. And that there is a nationalistic factor working in our favor. In your country labor is national but so is capital. In Mexico labor is national but capital by and large is foreign. Mexicans favor Mexicans.

Lewis: But suppose that the strike is declared legal, what then? May not the employer refuse to accept the award?

Lombardo Toledano: Well, theoretically he can. But he seldom does. The law says he must pay the laborers the wages they have lost during the time of a legal strike, so the employers are not anxious to make the strike last long—they lose their profits *plus* the wages!

Lewis: How such a law would have warmed the hearts of my strikers in the motor and steel plants! But does that penalty work both ways? If the strike is declared illegal must the laborers pay damages? That's one thing which it seems may be demanded if government starts out to make the parties "responsible."

Lombardo Toledano: Oh no! If the strike is declared illegal the laborers still have the right to their jobs. They could not pay damages in any case and the union—at least the C. T. M.—has no funds collected upon which levies could be made. But our job, as I said before, is to see that government does *not* attempt to make the laborers pay damages.

Lewis: That is something to think about! But how can you tell how far you can go in your demands? How can you tell whether the firm is financially able to meet your demands?

Lombardo Toledano: That's easy enough. The law gives us access to the employer's books.

Lewis: Still if the government does *not* stand back of you, you would be in a weak position. If it decided that you had gone too far, if it wanted to encourage capital, it might break your

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strikes quickly and discourage further efforts of the sort. Can you count on the government to stay right?

Lombardo Toledano: No, governments need watching. They always develop capitalistic leanings, it seems. Even the Cardénas government has faltered and disappointed us at times. There was the railroad strike of last year. Under the law the day laborers have their weekly day of rest with pay. The office workers are paid by the month. We struck to get the office workers a day of rest with pay. The railroads answered that they were already paid for that day in their monthly checks. The government sided with the company. The electric workers' strike of last July is another example. Cardénas left town during the strike. We had to accept a compromise. The recent oil strike is another case. The government has turned the matter over to a commission which is to decide whether the companies can meet our demands. Meanwhile the workers are to go back to work under the old conditions. Who can tell what a commission will report—or when it will report? Finally there is the long-drawn-out textile controversy. It involves not only a struggle with the employers but one between the C. T. M. and the CROM, with which the American Federation of Labor is friendly. We think the CROM is a tool of North American imperialism. The government has not come out frankly in our support. No, we can't always rely even on a government which professes to be pro-labor. We do pretty well but, once again, we have to put pressure on both the employers and the government to keep them in line.

Lewis: I come back again to the question about the employer whose workers strike and win. What if he flatly refuses to accept the terms or if he can't accept them and keep operating? What can you do even with the government on your side?

Lombardo Toledano: That is the firing line for us. We don't know how far we can get the government to back us. So far we have done pretty well. There was the Monterrey strike—not the one I spoke of before. Cardénas told the employers that if they didn't resume it might be necessary to turn the plant over

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to the workers. That brought them to time. One of the mines of the great Real del Monte Company has actually been turned over. The fight of the syndicate of weavers and allied workers of the Atlas factory of San Luis Potosí shows how resistance may be overcome. The Board of Conciliation decided in our favor and ordered the company to renew operations and to pay the workers their 140,000 pesos of lost wages plus the added wages they had demanded. The amount is so high that perhaps the employer may go to the courts, but in that case we shall ask that the Federal government take charge of the plant and allow operations to be resumed. Oh, yes, we are going along tolerably well. We have even secured a decree from the government establishing minimum wages and regulating hours of work—something like your Black-Connery bill. It doesn't work uniformly yet but nevertheless it's a charter—a true Bill of Rights.

One thing more. A case arose recently in Yucatán in which laborers brought a suit to be allowed to use the baling plant of a large landowner to prepare their henequen for market. They had no such machinery of their own. The Supreme Court has decided in favor of the laborers. It would be only one step further to allow labor to take over other plants that they need. Perhaps this may be the way to make our slogan "A Society without Classes" become a statement of fact. That would be one way to make the clause of the Constitution in favor of socializing national wealth and national production come true.

Mr. Lewis gazes at the ceiling. This is indeed going far. It would strike at the very basis upon which industry and labor have "cooperated" thus far in the United States. It would give labor responsibilities greater than he has ever planned. Not a greater share of the profits but the control of industry! The taking of all its profits, all its losses and the responsibility of management! He falls into a brown study from which he is not aroused by Lombardo Toledano's invitation to visit the School of the Revolution, example of those in which he seeks to teach "infantile classes" the philosophy of the class struggle.

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A Satirist in Old Virginia

L. C. HELDERMAN

A CENTURY ago in the Jacksonian era Miss Martineau in her travels about the United States noted that the Southerner was becoming mortified and indignant at the cool assumption of New England superiority in all things intellectual. The Southerner's boast that all the country's leaders came from below the Potomac was met with the condescending reply that all the thinkers came from New England. In the same Jacksonian thirties Ralph Waldo Emerson confided to his *Journal* a critique of certain Southern students whom he encountered in Cambridge. While admitting that he had never met an awkward Carolinian and freely conceding to the Southerner charm of personality and graceful manners, he nevertheless found him "good for nothing else" and in any very profound discussion "as dumb as an Indian in a church." He had associated with horses and dogs so much, thought the Concord Sage, that his intellectual curiosity had atrophied and his standard of values had become purely physical. In the same year, 1837, when Emerson wrote these caustic words on Southern intellectual capacity John C. Calhoun, stung by such taunts and mayhap also remembering his own brilliant record at Yale, advanced down the Senate floor and pointing a long Carolinian finger exclaimed "In one thing only are we inferior—the arts of gain."

Twenty years later young Henry Adams came in contact with a trio of tall genial Virginians at Harvard and concluded that the type was as little fitted for the sharp test of college as Sioux Indians. "They were no scholars" he wrote in his famous *Education* and he suspected, moreover, that their boasted superiority as charming animals was more apparent

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than real, for they could hold neither their liquor nor their tempers and dissipation slowly sapped the strength from their splendid physiques. During the same decade when the Old South was on the eve of its demise a Virginian asked sourly in the *Southern Literary Messenger* "Where are the arts and sciences—and saddest yet, where is our *literature*?" And down in Carolina, Hinton Rowan Helper, a keen and cordially hated critic, asked another embarrassing question: "What explains the literary pauperism of this section?"

Shortly after the turn of the century, at the end of what Mr. Mencken called the Sahara of Bozart, young Walter Hines Page returned to his native heath from the energetic West. Like the character in Cora Harris's *The Recording Angel* he dropped into a torpid atmosphere like a bomb with its fuse afire, and levied war on "the mummies." And the noise of battle has not yet stilled below the Potomac. Reflecting on these matters James Branch Cabell was once misled into picturing the Virginia of his youth as a land overrun by "grey little men with chin whiskers." "There was no art of any kind in Virginia" he said. "There was but an endless braying." It is cheering to note, however, that this half-escaped Virginian has recanted his outrageous heresy. In *Smirt* he perceived many presaging omens of a flourishing state of the liberal arts in his native land. What with Charles Gilpin, Peggy Hopkins Joyce, Bill Robinson, Kate Smith and Freeman Gosden credited to the Old Dominion, Mr. Cabell was induced to predict that the time was at hand when the artist would be condoned and the author esteemed as highly as an alderman—when every home of the better sort would be equipped with its book and refrigerator. A full century after Calhoun took Aristotle as his guide toward a new Attica flowering in Carolina the legislature of his sovereign state arranged to have a psychiatrist examine a college student for writing a poem. So here we have an argument that is a century old. But it was no new thing in 1837 when Emerson sneered and Calhoun boasted. A Virginia college professor with a sense of humor had already joined the issue

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in his *Letters from Virginia*, written after the manner of Montesquieu.

Now professors of the dismal science have seldom been suspected of a sense of humor, but when the University of Virginia opened in 1825 one of its professors and its chief administrative officer was equipped with this saving quality. George Tucker, a former member of Congress, was professor of moral philosophy and chairman of the faculty at Thomas Jefferson's university. By long tradition the chair of moral philosophy in American colleges had been adorned by the president, usually a clergyman, who lectured on "moral science"—actually a course in apologetics designed to insulate the student mind against the dangers of secular philosophy, natural science and profane history. But Professor Tucker was not a clergyman, son of a clergyman or a president nor was his department devoted to moral science. Jefferson was dubious of clergymen and presidents and had small respect for a clerical chair of moral philosophy. Mr. Tucker, in reality, was a professor of political economy in a Republic of Letters which in conformity to the Jeffersonian ideal elected a chairman with the advice of Visitors rather than accepting a president by command of a proprietary Board of Trustees.

It was proper, of course, in the Old Dominion for a gentleman of eminent lineage to rise from county court lawyer to Congress and climax his career by extending into the record some remarks wherewith to impress an admiring constituency. And many good and pious citizens quite naturally came to regard such service as evidence of scholarship and as qualification for a professorship. It would be a capital error, however, to mistake Professor Tucker for a grey-haired mediocrity in chin whiskers who spent an abundant leisure sipping mint juleps and boasting of his ancestors. He was mature and grey and fifty years of age when he retired from Congress to his position at the University. But he was emphatically more than a befuddled squire lately come to Lynchburg from broad acres on the Dan. He had been chosen for this position by Thomas Jefferson,

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never a man to confuse social position, "service" or a correct pedigree with intelligence. Professor Tucker's genealogy and social status, to be sure, were impeccable. He was of the Tucker dynasty, a relative of the Washingtons, Carters and Byrds. As for "service" his record was as brilliant as that of any hefty citizen of the Commonwealth. Trustee and co-founder of an academy, commonwealth-attorney, member of the General Assembly and orator on memorial occasions—these comprised only a partial list of his distinctions. But equally important, he was a scholar as well as a gentleman and had written significant essays on economic and historical subjects. In the realm of pure literature, moreover, his work, example of the pioneer striving of the American genius, showed a marked flair for satire.[1]

His satire was of the polite 18th century sort recommended by Dryden—the finesse of raillery with a rapier rather than "slovenly butchery" with a meat ax. He eschewed shouting "rogue and villain and that wittily" and chose rather "to make a man appear a blockhead" to himself without using that opprobrious term. In such fashion had Cervantes laughed chivalry away and Chaucer had had his glorious good time in that immortal company which rode out of London toward Canterbury. Fortunately for his political career, however, Professor Tucker adopted the motto of Ovid, *Bene vixit qui bene latuit,* and wrote anonymously. So effectively indeed did he hide his opinions that only by the most arduous research has the historian established his authorship of *Letters from Virginia.*

This cleverest of all his literary work was a series of letters, serious and satirical, dealing with life and manners in the Old Dominion and touching such delicate and perennial themes as Virginian attitudes toward Yankees, the languor of the people, their tendency towards florid oratory and their indifference to books and esthetic values. In these he followed the familiar device of introducing a foreigner into the society to be satirized and causing him to write with mock gravity about the manners

[1] The author has discussed Professor Tucker's contributions to history and economics in the *Journal of Southern History,* Vol. II (May 1936), pp. 148-174. These articles were prepared under a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.

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and prejudices of the strange people under observation. Through the letters of a Persian, Montesquieu had exposed to ridicule the defects of French society of the *Ancien Régime*, and by means of the letters of a cultivated Chinaman Goldsmith had thrust a deft rapier into English complacency. Tucker made use of a "young Frenchman of ancient family" who, being at odds with Napoleon, was exiled to England whence he came to Virginia in pursuit of certain claims. His letters fell into the hands of a discerning publisher who perceived their literary importance and presented them to the public in English translation.

Now there had been subdued chuckling at the proud old village of Williamsburg ever since Jefferson had moved the capital to the rising city of Richmond at the falls of the James. Even as a student young Thomas Jefferson had been wont to refer to the tidewater hamlet as "Devilsburg" and later, unable after the most heroic efforts to revive the corpse of his alma mater, transferred his patronage to Charlottesville. Jedidiah Morse, erudite father of American geography, drawing his data from Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* and a brief visit, had written a description highly offensive to the patriot. This had called down on his learned head the very proper wrath of Judge John Tyler, a native of those parts. The father of President Tyler denounced the father of S. F. B. Morse as one of the "northern cattle" who, lacking "that liberality of sentiment which pervades and animates our Southern world," had the effrontery to criticise the Old Dominion. Professor Tucker's Frenchman was guilty of the same heresy. More than a century before the Restoration put new wine in old bottles and set new forces astir in the delightful Old City the fictitious *émigré* found Williamsburg and its college stranded in the backwaters and brooding on "the memory of its ancient importance"—which was, he thought, "a sad sort of interest, indeed." Its buildings reeked with tradition and dust, its inhabitants ruminated on the days of former grandeur, and life took on "an intangible continuity of vacuous monotony" to use one of the

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phrases Walter Hines Page hurled at "the mummies." Native and sojourner alike fell victim to a deadly paralysis like that of the lotus-eaters and there slowly crept upon the inhabitant an inertia more insidious than any in all the world save China under the Manchus. Professor Tucker had signally failed to reach that high standard for literary success in Virginia set by Branch Cabell—"to catalogue at the top of his voice" the finer flowers of Old Dominion culture and priority. All this was heretical, outrageously so since Professor Tucker was an alumnus of its college and possessed a name to conjure with in all the regions round about.

At Norfolk the rapier sank deeper for here the Frenchman fell into conversation with a Virginia gentleman who held very positive if unflattering views of the Yankee character. The Virginian, unconscious of the day a century thence when his descendants would sing lustily on the French battlefields that the Yanks were coming and John Crowe Ransome would insinuate that all Virginians were Yankees, defined a Yankee as an animal with the body of a man but destitute of a soul. They were a strange and niggardly race of people who loved money more than life, taught their children better than they fed them, professed an amazing contempt for the genteel languor of the Virginian and the benign dilapidation of his antiques, cast a cold and indifferent eye on the roots of the family tree and smiled with a certain condescension at the framed heraldic devices adorning innumerable hallways. More incomprehensible, they deserted the tombs of their ancestors to go down to the sea in ships. Indubitably they were a difficult, stiff-necked and exasperating people; albeit, the Frenchman added, aside, if the Yankee had a sense of humor he could find much to laugh at in Virginia.

The portrait of the worthy Harry Whiffler was a particularly penetrating satire. This son of one of the best families had been carefully nurtured in the "trade and mystery of a gentleman" at the College of William and Mary where he had become learned in all "the vices taught at that polite seminary."

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Afflicted with gentility and an incurable indolence he rapidly acquired the reputation of a genius—what with cards all night and sleep by day he flourished in the popular mind as a youth of brilliant parts and promise, destined to high preferment—probably the State Legislature, possibly even Congress. People long remembered the one great effort of his life—a patriotic oration on the glorious Fourth. This masterpiece was widely applauded and one buxom dowager was heard to pronounce it "a mighty learned piece, indeed." Young Whiffler thumbed through some law books, fought a duel, and despite some polite philandering and a host of clamorous creditors emerged a lawyer and a hero with honor intact. He had enemies, however, and what great man has not? These sneeringly charged that he failed at law and degenerated into a writer—even, it was hinted, with poetic aspirations. The poet, observed the Frenchman, was in ill repute in Virginia and wore a halter about his neck rather than a laurel on his brow.

Another letter, expanding on the theme of alleged Virginian devotion to noisy oratory, observed that they insisted on a "patent right for making speeches." All classes of people spoke regardless of whether they comprehended the subject matter, oratory was the main road to fame, and the young man who suspected he had ability "immediately turns his whole attention to the science of spouting." The land was infested "with orators of all sorts and sizes" who made day and night hideous with croakings as "noisy as the frogs in the plague of Egypt." Drawn to the tavern by the bar within rather than the classical columns without, these learned men cocked their feet on the mantle and discoursed by the hour upon freedom of the seas and liberty. On the Fourth of July they annually declared their independence from Great Britain, denounced tyranny and glorified the Revolutionary dead in "long-tailed vermicular words" filled with fury and emptiness. In short, the Virginian on all proper occasions could be depended on to make a whale of a speech.

A letter of more serious nature and enduring import dealt

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with the perennial theme of culture-lag below the Potomac. Now observers had long conceded to the South distinction in the narrow fields of manners, personality and public leadership. Young Albert Gallatin fell in love with Richmond at the end of the 18th century and in the remembering years of old age wrote that in all the compass of his wide travels he had never been happier than in the city by the falls of the James. And William Ellery Channing of sternest Puritan stock melted before the warmth of Virginian geniality after a terrific tussle with the Devil which reduced him almost to a skeleton. "I blush for my own people," he wrote from Richmond in 1799, "when I compare the selfish prudence of a Yankee with the generous confidence of a Virginian." And forty years later William Cullen Bryant said that "whatever may be the comparison in other respects, the South certainly has the advantage over us in point of manners." But in our day a native, returning from Yankee country where a statue of Longfellow stands preferred before Thomas B. Reed at Portland, traveled down Monument Avenue in Richmond and seeing no statue to Poe pondered if there was not something of vast significance inherent in the contrast. What critics were prone to point out, however, was the poverty of the South's creative genius in art, science and thought beyond the purely political, military and legal. A British traveler long ago described Virginians as "climate struck"—handsome fellows attired in "the very best clothes" but disinclined toward "profound study or prying into the depths of things"; and, as we have seen, Emerson and Henry Adams came to the same conclusion. But Professor Tucker's Frenchman pondered on this problem long before Emerson or Adams and pointed out what he thought were the causes.

He found the explanation in the agrarian pattern of life in the South which since colonial days had been conducive to a life of action rather than contemplation. The early settlers, seeking riches rather than fame astride Pegasus, "chose to cultivate tobacco rather than belles-lettres" and thus established the ideal of utility. Their time was consumed in winning the land

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from savages and nature, and the population, thinly settled on plantations and with no cities to act as centers of culture, lived a life akin to petty barons—served in their case by long retinues of blacks. Lacking a sane philosophy of leisure they became resigned to the pleasures of inaction and to the pursuit of "eating, drinking, gaming and horse-racing." There was a sad dearth of enlightened clergy or educational facilities and a great deal of the spirit of Berkeley abroad—that "learning has brought disobedience and heresies and sects into the world." But why had this lethargy not been shaken off after the Revolution? Virginia with her "long roll of warriors and statesmen" presented but a "Flemish account of her poets and wits." The explanation was found, he believed, in the exaltation of the ideals of public life and business and in the fact that "their minds have been turned principally to politics and speculation to the neglect of polite letters." By speculation, needless to observe, he meant financial rather than philosophic.

The root of the matter, therefore, as Professor Tucker viewed it, was that the landed gentry of Virginia, priding itself on its English origins, failed to rise to the level of the best British tradition. For surely, liberal as was the British week-end, it was not of seven days' duration. The Virginia gentleman might bore himself by casual thumbing of a book on stormy days, but who would read in fair weather when the hound whimpered for wood and field? What Mr. Mencken once in an uncommonly complimentary mood called the "noble spaciousness in the ancient southern scheme of things" was not, in this view, the same as "the spacious times of the great Elizabeth." It was more nearly what the late Mrs. Mencken meant when she said that if you had a mind and did not want to use it "the South is the place in which to live."

And critics, domestic and "foreign," in estimating the culture of the New South have continued on this theme. One Southerner felt as though he were in a vast stuffy museum, another saw his section committed to the ideal "of the second best" and another wrote that "as to culture, it shows richness

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impaired by immaturity and multiple handicaps." Walter Hines Page by his attacks on "the mummies" infuriated his fellow-citizens, lost his subscribers and went "somewhere else"; Thomas Nelson Page complained of a "deluge of orators and a dearth of historians" in a land more conscious of its past than any part of the nation; and Paul Green made "a plain statement" to the effect that the South needed less "sweetened wind" and more "reflective thinking." "Outsiders," moreover, have developed a painful tendency to join in these nasty observations. Heywood Broun, sunning himself on a Miami beach, dashed off the conclusion that Southerners could talk, sing and "dance divinely" but, echoing James J. Hill, asserted that for any "exacting task" one must seek a native of the colder climes. Henry Cabot Lodge, looking South and West from Back Bay, saw the backwoods grow denser and proved it to his satisfaction from *Appleton's Cyclopedia*; Gertrude Stein, in uncommonly clear diction, reported that Virginia was uninhabited; an impertinent Western editor suggested that the fathers of Jamestown were dude ranchers already "thanking the Lord they were Virginians"; and Mark Twain inflicted the crowning insult by insisting that Virginia was a vegetable—the better part of it being underground.

Now what should be the proper retort of the patriot to all this criticism? He is obliged at once to repudiate it with becoming indignation. The suggestion, suh, that Virginia ever was, is or ever shall be anything less than perfect is an intolerable slur on the fair name of this historic Commonwealth—and is, moreover, hurtful of business. Any close observer of the recent Virginia scene can discern how manfully she has resisted the inroads of radicalism. Her statesmen have opposed such crackpot schemes as the Panama Canal, the St. Lawrence Seaway, graduated income taxes, an eight-hour day for women, child labor laws, social security and desecration of the Sabbath. What strange doctrine is this that one hears about social lag in the shadow of glory? What is this sociological jargon about annual per capita books read, illiteracy rate, submarginalism,

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rural disintegration, jail commitments, biological partisanship and decay of social synergy? Please be advised that the bonds of this ancient Commonwealth are quoted at a premium and that she outranks all others in grand larceny. In the old heroic days the proper satisfaction would have been a duel to exterminate all such sour misfits and unsympathetic Yankees. Since the cravens would not fight, however, let us abash and discomfit them by a rousing rebel yell and the words of that fine old poem, "Down in Old Virginia." One might go further and be malicious about it, for after all Professor Tucker was not a native-born Virginian but a "foreigner" from Bermuda whose proper attitude should have been reticence and reverence. Alas, for shame, he was not even a lineal descendant of a Revolutionary veteran and would have been well-advised "to go somewhere else" and cease troubling the faithful by new ideas. Clearly his proper rôle should have been to sit on back benches and be affably perfunctory and deferentially unanimous. On second thought, however, after a man has with difficulty contained his choler, good taste requires that these points be ignored. Professor Tucker was a "distinguished person," one whose pedigree and status were above reproach. Little more can be done in his case than in that of Branch Cabell whose satire has lately caused his fellow-descendants to wince. Perhaps the best policy for the patriot, therefore, would be simply to ignore the whole thing, place *Letters from Virginia* on the *Index* as subversive of the faith and denounce the historian as an obnoxious fellow. Perhaps, lest the argument get out of hand and lead to trouble, it would be wise for the historian to interrupt at this point with some serious attempt to mediate between the patriot and the satirist.

The intellectual poverty of the South, Old and New, has no doubt been exaggerated, as Dr. Alderman suggested some years ago and as Dr. Dumas Malone has demonstrated from the pages of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The Old South gave a Maury to science, a McCormick to invention, a Calhoun to political theory, a Simms to literature and both

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Woodrow Wilson and Walter Hines Page were born before its demise. George Tucker himself was one of the authentic scholars of the day, and a careful study of the contributions of the South would no doubt show it to be a much less negligible factor in the intellectual history of the United States than is commonly supposed. But although the eclipse was partial rather than total, the fact of comparative decline since the death of Jefferson is not disputed by the candid student. It now seems clear that certain tendencies, which resulted in an intellectual revolution in the Southern mind, got under way about a century ago. Essentially this movement was a repudiation of Jeffersonian intellectualism at the moment, curiously enough, when New England, under the influence of Emerson, was emerging from its Puritan shell. The causes of this intellectual transition, still awaiting analysis by the scientific historian, began to operate long before the Civil War and have continued to exert an enduring influence on the New South whose ideals and standards of value are rooted in the ante-bellum more than in the Revolutionary period. And the Civil War and its aftermath brought still further complications to plague the higher learning below the Potomac. An inherited indifference, standards of value that subordinated pioneering scholarship as of secondary importance, intolerance of criticism however friendly, paralysis of educational statesmanship, a willingness to let the stadium over-top the library, an eclipse of Jeffersonian free inquiry behind a sinister obscurantism, a backward-looking sectional introversion which romanticised "the South" and set its heirs, as the Chosen People, over against others, and all those melancholy factors so powerfully arraigned by Walter Hines Page in his *Mummy Letters*—these things and more must be considered for a complete diagnosis. Yet did not the satirical Frenchman touch central and enduring forces in attributing the Southern standard of values to an agrarian pattern of life, a confusion of distinction with noisy oratory and petty office, the lack of an adequate philosophy of leisure and an exaltation of the ideal of public leadership?

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Some of these things, however, were characteristically American and to some degree British rather than uniquely Virginian or Southern. The noisy and spurious windbag is surely no unique Southern phenomenon. Run over the great Virginia names and one is struck by the absence of oratorical effervescence. George Washington if caught unawares with a request for a speech would assuredly have been speechless; if there was one thing the versatile Thomas Jefferson could not do well it was to make a speech; the Olympian Lee was never noted for oratorical prowess; and George Mason was known for the classic diction of his prose and John Marshall and John C. Calhoun for the logical processes of their minds. In 1865 when Robert E. Lee was inaugurated president of Washington College he quietly vetoed plans for oratorical ballyhoo and took the ancient oath in impressive dignity. He seems never to have been much impressed by policitians (or military men either), for when a painful duty required him to parade on memorial occasions he broke step with an eloquence all his own. The greatest orator of Virginia, perhaps the greatest yet produced on this continent, was Patrick Henry but he was nowhere in Virginia held in the same esteem as the close-mouthed Washington, the scholarly Jefferson or the retiring Lee. Although James Madison's brain conceived and his pen composed the Virginia Plan at the Federal Convention his personality and public bearing were so weak he could not be trusted to present it on the floor and recourse was taken to the handsome figure and pleasing voice of Edmund Randolph. Yet when has Virginia preferred the mediocre Randolph before the superior Madison? Bernard Shaw has somewhere remarked upon the American appetite for speeches, so whatever truth there be in the satire is applicable nationally.

Concerning the subordination of creative scholarship to public leadership and the call of the out-of-doors it will be noted that there was in the British tradition something more than a mere bookish pedantry. There was also the ideal of "a compleat gentleman" who had judgment, conscience and imagination in

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contrast to dreary erudition and a well-stocked memory. Sir Francis Bacon, one of the wisest of Englishmen, attacked persons who were "more after words than matter," John Locke sneered at "learned fools" unable to read either men or things, Dr. Arnold placed manners, personality and character above the intellect among his aims, and from the 15th century on the motto of Winchester College was "Manners makyth the man." Today, moreover, as the Modern Language Association is assaulted from within for aridity and sterile pedantry, dissenting voices are heard from the very sanctums of traditional scholarship. There was in this tradition, then, something of *noblesse oblige* and the fitness of things in contrast to German concentration on mere knowledge which ofttimes produced the blunt but erudite boor. Who, for instance, has not heard the tale of divers persons including an Englishman and a German who set about writing a book on the elephant? Yet it was charged by foreign observers and admitted by many Englishmen that their ideals were geared to a decadent gentry, produced inferiority of intellectual standards if not actually a cult of indifference and were generally more suited to preparatory schools than institutions of higher learning—that, in short, it tended to an attitude of mind which elevated Mr. Chips above Sir Isaac Newton. The Virginian liked to think, on none too good history to be sure, that his culture pattern was derived from the British, and pointing to the Virginia greats for justification insisted that they read men by contact and conversation rather than books by pedantic study. Small wonder, then, that the Virginia educator should be haunted by certain magnificent aims which he desired to add to the mere cultivation of the intellect. These, usually called "the whole personality," included, among other things, character, leadership, manners and an intelligent use of leisure. These things were rarely defined, to be sure, and at times there was a question whether their real meaning was comprehended. Moreover, in this pursuit of ancillary objectives, there was a suspicion that a red herring was drawn across the trail of mediocrity—or perhaps it was merely a confusion

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of adult education with the preparatory process. Somewhere, somehow, the South with its rich tradition of personal culture may make her great contribution by sifting from the older ideals the essential values and marrying them to a keener appreciation of scholarship and social engineering. But it will have lost the way to this place at the outset if it confuses leisure with a country club, manners with conformity, personality with tonsorial elegance or character with mere formal piety.

It will also be observed that Virginia and the South have had no monopoly on the invasion of the Republic of Letters by the barbarian bent on the sack of its temples. From Cato to the Brain Trust practical men have suspected the academic life. The stern old Censor hustled the Greek academicians out of Rome as seditious nuisances, a Roman functionary railed at St. Paul as one beside himself with too much learning, and even the mighty Julius preferred about him sleek fat men untroubled with insomnia to the lean and dangerous thinkers. In our day men of action have looked with dismay and downright terror at the professor in the seats of the mighty, and discerning students have noted an impeding menace over certain industrial areas, afar from the agrarian South, where peculiar institutions are under fire from a challenging social philosophy. In the American Ruhr there rose a Cathedral of Learning piercing the smoky Pennsylvania sky, but who would say its ideals of right-thinking students and trembling professors rose higher than those of Thomas Jefferson who from his Virginia hilltop looked out on no city smoke darkening the looming plain? Nor has sectional myopia ever been the peculiar institution of an agrarian South and West mumbling of Yankees and Wall Street. When Gouverneur Morris at the Federal Convention intimated that talent was to be found only in the busy haunts of men the gentle Madison rebuked his sleek provincialism by suggesting that the mariner's compass was no fit instrument with which to determine the human character. A son of the sidewalks of New York from his high place above the towers of Manhattan has looked out over a far-reaching metropolis

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and written with significant sincerity, "This is my America." Finally, the South has never really had the full degree of leisure Calhoun assumed for his Attica of America. During the greater part of the last century her energies have been consumed in fighting the Indian, the rawness of the frontier, the hysteria of the Abolitionist, the tragedy of Civil War and the grinding poverty of its aftermath.

Still, apologies and comparisons are types of argument only slightly higher than patriotic indignation. After all the Civil War has been over for three score years and ten. It has reached a ripe old age for retirement and the fighting henceforth may well be left to the women and children in various patriotic associations assembled. Reasons for sickness are not good reasons for remaining so and the fact that others are also sick constitutes no valid argument against treatment. Fortunately the disease is not incurable and the germ when finally isolated will, it is believed, be found largely economic. But it is more than that—a state of mind and will, a question of comprehension and a standard of values. If Virginia and the South are to have a Renaissance, therefore, it must be preceded by a frank questioning of traditional values in the very candid but friendly spirit of Professor Tucker. Although no son of the Old Dominion, yet he had climbed to her high peaks of aspiration and had fallen in love with the grand old lady—in love with what she once was and even yet might be. For seeing from that high-minded past what Virginians could be he was the more indignant with them for what they were. His was the spirit of Erasmus who once dreamed that St. Francis stood before him and thanked him for satirizing the Franciscans.

Many years after Professor Tucker was buried in the cemetery of the University of Virginia Dr. Alderman was looking for an important addition to his faculty of liberal arts and was advised to select some person who would fit in and not seek to disturb the *status quo*. Professor Tucker's successor as chief administrative officer gave a noble Jeffersonian rejoinder: "That is just the sort of man I do not want." Given a reasonable eco-

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nomic basis, a healthy self-criticism and a leadership with imagination and a will to distinction there is no reason why the latent genius of this section should not fire. In these days, when omens multiply that the pursuit of truth is menaced in the older centers of European culture, and clumsy hands are uplifted against the searcher on this continent, it may be the destiny of Virginia and the South to recapture the splendid vision of her half-forgotten Sage of Monticello. And then at last would Calhoun's proud boast be vindicated and inferiority in "the arts of gain" be superiority in the highest measure.

Much depends on the answer that policy and action give to the recent challenge of Dr. Embree: "Shall the South accept mediocrity?" Perhaps the major signs still indicate a proud affirmative but increasing evidence points to new things astir in the stream of Southern thought. The ferment of Rhodes Scholars, of certain groups on college faculties who have ceased to look upon the face of men and things in fear, a brilliant galaxy of writers who have turned from contemplating the glory of an illusory past to examine the shadows of Tobacco Road, a rising liberal journalism that points accusing fingers at fact, and an occasional outspoken clergyman, educator and man of affairs—all these have emancipated themselves from the heritage of a century of misdirection. They constitute the magnificent minority who have repudiated Rousseau's barbarous postulate that thinking is a disease.

The admitted limitations of the Southern genius are purely environmental, hang-overs of an older day. But let no one assume that the raw materials are not here in abundance awaiting adequate processes of refinement. Too many prophets without honor in their own country have gone "somewhere else" in an appalling exodus of talent. Too many persons have migrated to rise above "the line" as scholars, writers, presidents of large foundations, deans of graduate schools, editors, eminent physicians, lawyers and men of affairs to admit any indictment of inherent incapacity or meteorological determinism. The Sahara of Bozart is commencing to bloom.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

Cure Our Ignorance of Hispanic America

JAMES A. ROBERTSON

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SERIOUS study in the United States concerning Hispanic America[1] is still startlingly new. Our first interests as a nation centered about commerce and diplomacy, each in a sense promoting the other, as the archives of the Department of State bear eloquent testimony.[2] To these original records, up to a fairly recent period, the investigator has free access. Ever since the creation of the Department of Commerce it has given considerable attention to Hispanic America although in recent years its field of activity has been somewhat restricted. Army and Navy records as well as those of other government entities reveal much to the serious student.

Academic interest lagged far behind government effort, for it was not until 1895 that the first real course on Hispanic America was established in the University of California. Gradually other courses covering many branches of study were opened in other institutions until now over 800 are offered in well over 200 colleges and universities, and there are even some in various normal and high schools. In 1918 *The Hispanic American Historical Review* was founded (although at the time some thought we were not ready for it) and at about the same time *Hispania* was launched in the interest of language and literature.

General interest was stimulated by the publication in 1904 of Edward Gaylord Bourne's *Spain in America*, a book which became a point of departure for further study. We still await a comprehensive volume covering Portuguese activity in the Americas. Before Bourne we had the books of Prescott, Ticknor, Squier and Buckingham Smith and a few other outstanding productions by

[1] A term to be preferred to the less correct "Latin America."

[2] See the two series of diplomatic correspondence (the first in three volumes and the second to be completed in twelve volumes, one covering the period 1809-1830 and the other continuing the story to 1860) both edited by Dr. William R. Manning and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

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North American scholars, all of whom have had far-reaching influence; and contemporaneously with Bourne, Woodbury Lowery, in his two volumes on Spanish Florida, demonstrated the richness of Spanish effort in our own country. We have been stimulated, too, by the works of Alexander von Humboldt and other European scholars and by many writers of Hispanic America, including the great bibliographer, José Toribio Medina, whose catholicity as a scholar knew no national boundaries.

The increasing importance of Hispanic America in the practical, cultural and intellectual realms needs no thesis. In this country we were suddenly awakened near the end of the last century to some little inkling of the dawning of new continental interests and since then we have seen the emergence of new American principles of jurisprudence and of constitutional and international law. And we have come to realize also that the United States has no monopoly on the word "American."

The opportunity for real scholarly work has grown apace and the student of today can start his study as direct heir to previous (though recent) effort and in possession of many necessary tools. During the last third of a century the publication in the United States of books and articles concerning Hispanic America has been immense and is constantly growing. Reputable textbooks have been written, syllabi and bibliographies compiled, manuscripts printed in the original or in translation and many monographs and articles of a scholarly nature prepared. Collections, both of manuscripts and of printed materials, have been gathered together not only in the Library of Congress, the Pan American Union, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, the Hispanic Society in New York, the New York and other public libraries, but in many universities and colleges north, east, south, and west. In fact there is no phase of Hispanic America unrepresented in collections within the United States. The Union Catalog of the Library of Congress and the impetus gained by inter-library loans make many of the books of the several institutions available in every part of the United States. The Library of Congress will even lend transcripts, photostats and films of manuscripts, but no originals.

The modern student is equipped as never before with the apparatus required in his study. If he is fortunate the scholar who has outlined a comprehensive and worth while project may receive grants-in-aid or fellowship awards from one or another of the foundations established within recent years, among them the Guggenheim Foundation, the Social Science Foundation and the

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American Council of Learned Societies. The A. L. A. has created a scholarship for study in Hispanic America, as has also the A. A. U. W. Through publications or by exchange of professors and students (although this latter is in its infancy) various countries of Hispanic America have been cooperating with the United States in their resources available to the scholar. Argentina with its scholarly Institute of Historical Investigation and the excellent *Bulletin* published by the Institute has set a high scholarly norm. Other organizations in Hispanic America will be found helpful, and a Brazil-United States Institute has quite recently been created in Rio de Janeiro. There are also a number of excellent periodical publications emanating from the various Hispanic American countries.

For his undergraduate study it really does not matter greatly where the student begins his work. Excellent undergraduate instruction is given in many of the smaller institutions. For his graduate work the larger universities (California, Stanford, Chicago, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Duke, North Carolina, Texas and others) will naturally be considered. The student has passed beyond the realm of textbooks into that of real research and his instructors will have become his guides and, indeed, his fellow workers. He must now rely largely upon himself. He must consider library facilities, contacts and seminars. He may wish, and indeed should, consider Washington as a *vade mecum* because of its unrivaled library facilities, its government and other manuscript records, its four universities (George Washington, American, Georgetown and Catholic of America) and he will find summer and other vacation periods not ill-spent there. Georgetown a few years ago inaugurated a school of foreign service which is of immense practical utility. George Washington offers special courses in history and literature throughout the year and for several years, because of its Center of Hispanic American Studies and its summer seminar, promised to become one of the greatest centers; but for the moment the latter peculiar and excellent feature seems unfortunately to have been changed in direction. American University is now inaugurating a Hall of the Nations, and its summer seminar, based largely on the original plan of George Washington University, should be carefully watched. In the Catholic University reposes the great Ibero-American Library of Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, concerned largely with Brazil. In Washington, too, is located the Pan American Union, a very practical institution, which presents a wealth of opportunity to the student. The Columbian Library

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housed in the Union is admirable and the Division of Intellectual Cooperation can be helpful in many ways. The headquarters of the recently founded Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association (which the serious student should hasten to join to have access to its materials) have been established in that great institution, the Library of Congress. The Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace can be serviceable also in historical, scientific and juridical fields.

In this incomplete sketch one may glimpse, perhaps, something of the opportunity so strikingly apparent in the effective study of Hispanic America. Rich results may still be achieved in its history, politics, archeology and anthropology, literature, medical science and so on. Out of this region, so recently discovered by scholars, are coming great and original forces that will not be without influence in the practical, esthetic, and ethical fields. Some day some scholar may weave all that has been done before into a rich series of volumes that will set the norm for future work. To be one of the workers toward such an end is indeed a reward of scholarship. But above all, the more intensive study will inevitably result in a greater understanding of "Whither, Hispanic America?"

Freshmen and Books

LAURENS H. SEELYE
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AT FOUR o'clock every Wednesday afternoon at The St. Lawrence University a group of six or seven teachers meet with the President and his wife for tea to discuss their experiences with the "Freshman Discussion Groups on Civilization" and to plan for the future. The instructors' backgrounds are the departments of English, history, economics, bacteriology, sociology, philosophy, but they are joined in a common reading project with groups of a dozen freshmen to each. After four to six weeks with a book the groups and teachers rotate for the next book, so that in the course of the year each freshman meets the minds of five or six instructors and each instructor including the president meets about seventy freshmen. The president's wife is utility woman, taking a group when an instructor is away and providing copious quantities of tea.

It is understood that the books read are not "textbooks" but books (costing not much more than a dollar each) which will stimulate discussion on civilization and which will ultimately be valued units in the student's personal library. During 1935-36 the books read and discussed were Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, *The Autobiography*

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of John Stuart Mill, Margaret Mead's *Growing Up in New Guinea*, G. Lowes Dickinson's *The Greek View of Life*, *The Trial and Death of Socrates* and an issue of *The New Republic* and of *The Nation* (with copies to every member of the class). During 1936-37 we began the year with Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* and swung into Dimnet's *The Art of Thinking*, Haggard's *Devils, Drugs, and Doctors*, Stewart Chase's *Mexico*, a volume entitled *Six Modern Plays* (including *A Dolls' House*, *Emperor Jones*, *Hell Bent for Heaven*), *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* and an issue of *The New Republic* and of the *Commonweal*.

It is not an "orientation" or a "survey" course but rather one to stimulate the imagination, raise questions, present the opposite side and promote personal acquaintance between the minds of teachers and students. There is no massive "syllabus," each teacher being left free to use the material as he wishes; and the common element in the course is a functional and dynamic fellowship, expressed in the use of common books, the association of minds in a weekly meeting where the freest discussion occurs, common examinations devised by the group, a plenary session on Monday mornings for all of the 96 freshmen who elected the course, and a recognition of common objectives. There is considerable writing of short papers, with the emphasis on the one hand on conciseness and on the other on imagination. Instead of asking a conventional question on Mill like "What was Mill's idea of freedom?" we ask "Write a dialogue of eight or ten responses between Mill and Babbitt which will bring out interestingly their ideas of freedom." At the end of each semester and before the final examination a week is taken for individual 15-minute "oral conferences" between each student and two instructors sitting together. A competent senior or junior serves as the "executive secretary" of the course, carries on the detail work, attends lectures and conferences, edits the yearbook-record of the course and writes an essay on his observations. For this he receives college credit on a "project" course. At the close of the course and examinations an evening "at home" at the house of the president brings students and teachers together to discuss the course and make suggestions for the coming year.

Access to Our Common Denominator: The American Past

CRANE BRINTON

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IT SEEMS to me possible that in the study of our national cultural history we may find the principle that is needed to unify our

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liberal arts tradition and to mold it to suit this modern age. A true appreciation of this country's past might be the common denominator among educated men which would enable them to face the future united and unafraid." These words from the annual report of President J. B. Conant of Harvard University for 1935-1936 give the clue to the purpose of the unique plan for the guided study of American history which the University initiated in the spring of 1937. The work is not formally a part of the Harvard curriculum. But it is far from mere sporadic reading or even from the limited "course" work of most adult education. Nothing less than the genuine command of a whole culture is aimed at; and this command will be tested in accordance with a technique of examination which has been worked out through a quarter-century's experience with Harvard's "comprehensive" examination system and which has been much influenced by the long-established "Honors Schools" of the older English universities.

The work is open on a voluntary basis both to Harvard undergraduates and to the general public. *A Harvard Reading List in American History*—already in its second printing—forms the basis of the course of study. This list is divided into three parts; an elementary part I; a part II, in which certain "threads" (political thought, labor, the frontier, education, religion, arts and letters, industries and so on) can be followed through American history and studied in representative biographies; a part III, in which certain important periods of our history are studied with considerable thoroughness. There is a generous choice of separate books within the various sub-heads but the list as a whole is carefully drawn up to afford a comprehensive basis of examination—and understanding. This reading is to be supplemented by a series of public lectures to be given by members of the Harvard faculty and distinguished visitors and broadcast on a short-wave radio which can be heard all over the United States. Beginning in November, 1937 a series of voluntary examinations will be offered by the University. (These first examinations are open only to Harvard undergraduates but it is hoped that subsequent ones will be open to the public.) They will test the students' command of the separate parts I, II, III of the *Reading List* and will usually be taken in successive years though the ambitious are free to shorten the work as they wish. They will very definitely not be mere tests of information but will attempt to sound the student's ability to get inside the subject, to grasp it as a structural whole.

Successful completion of each of parts I, II and III will be marked by the granting of a certificate.

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Special mention will be given to those who attain honor standards. The examinations will be set, and grading done, partly by members of the Harvard staff, partly by scholars from outside the University. In this way it is hoped to gain the advantages of objectivity and of critical ideas from fresh outside sources. Thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Charles Warren of Washington, D. C. the University has received a fund to cover the expenses of the plan for the next five years. This will be used partly for honoraria for scholars from Harvard and other universities who cooperate in the public lectures and in setting and grading the annual tests; and partly to establish the William H. Bliss awards, which will give formal recognition for distinguished work in the course of study. These awards will be fine books, to be given to each member of the outside public passing the examinations with honor, and to undergraduates receiving the highest grades.

As the *Reading List* says, the work is not intended for those actually pursuing formal course work on American history in a college or university. "It is meant for others, such as university students concentrating in other fields, graduates, or members of the general public, who feel the need for a wider knowledge of their national past. It assumes on the part of the reader a desire to obtain some comprehensive and organized interpretation of the development of culture and civilization in the United States. . . . No student who reads the entire list will become thereby an expert historical scholar, but almost any student can find something in this syllabus to deepen his insight and broaden his appreciation of the significance of life in his own country." The University will welcome the participation of members of the general public who are sufficiently interested to do the real work required. But real work is required—this is not a scheme for the effortless distribution of information. The first actual examinations, to be held in November 1937, are, because of their inevitably experimental nature, restricted to Harvard undergraduates. But at this very moment all other facilities of the plan are open to the public and it is hoped that examinations will very soon be open also. The *Reading List* may be obtained by writing to The Committee on the Extra-Curricular Study of American History, Lehman Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Committee will be glad to answer inquiries and to place the names of interested persons on its mailing list.

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Discussion

China: Still Osmotic

DR. THOMAS T. READ, with whom I have for some time been carrying on a lively (and to me very stimulating) correspondence in connection with the ancient Chinese civilization, has recently drawn my attention to a letter of his in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR (Spring number, 1937, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 249 *sqq.*). In this, as your readers will recall, he discussed certain points in a little paper of mine, "A Civilization by Osmosis—Ancient China," which you were good enough to print in your summer number for 1936 (Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 323 *sqq.*).

In so brief an article as that was, condensation, compression and the omission of much in the way of evidence were inevitable. Dr. Read's letter shows, however, that I wielded my pruning-hook a trifle too vigorously and therefore failed to make my position as clear as I could have wished. Perhaps you will kindly allow me space in which to rectify some of these shortcomings of mine.

That the Chinese people have been the authors of very many contributions of importance to the common stock of civilization I most cordially agree. The point that I would make in this regard, however, is that these contributions have as a rule taken the form of improvements upon ideas, discoveries and inventions whose germs had already appeared long before in the Near East. They have thus as a rule a secondary character, not a primary one like the domestication of animals, the practice of true agriculture, the use of the wheel in transport or the working of metals.

Improvements in matters of detail are by no means of the same order of significance as original and primary inventions, in whatever field. The discovery of a method of casting iron, such as Dr. Read adduces, is for instance very far from being commensurate in importance with the feeble and halting steps by which man first made the transition from an Age of Stone to one of Metals. On this point there can hardly be disagreement.

Those fundamental processes and techniques upon whose utilization civilization is based appeared far earlier in the region between the Indus and the Nile than they did in either extremity of the North Temperate Zone of the Old World. They have appeared, moreover, at successively later dates the farther we travel, whether east or west, from the centers where we first find them. And where we can trace this proc-

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ess historically we find it almost invariably one of culture-diffusion, not one of repeated independent invention *de novo*.

Dr. Read takes exception, for example, to my statement that we have no reason to suppose the Chinese discovered the use of metals independently of the rest of the world; he states, in fact, that he emphatically denies this. Any particle of evidence that the Chinese did do so would be most welcome. Nothing of the sort, however, does Dr. Read give us. In its place he supplies instances of improvements which the Chinese have made in sundry metallurgical techniques—a very different thing from their having been independent discoverers of metallurgy in the first place.

Further, knowledge of the method of casting metals is, as archeological research has shown, by no means so swiftly and inevitably attained as Dr. Read suggests. In China, just as in the New World very much later, the evidence points unmistakably to an abrupt transition *per saltum* from a culture of Neolithic type, using stone implements, to one with a highly developed use of metals. Between prehistoric Chinese barbarism, however, and the brilliant and fully sophisticated civilization of the Shang Dynasty (when Chinese history may in a sense be said to begin) the gap seems to have been comparatively short—not more than a few centuries at most; certainly it is nowhere near as long as the period which the peoples of the Near East needed in working out a similar transition earlier. In the latter area, moreover, in many cases the intervening steps in the process have been traced *in situ*; in eastern Asia, on the other hand, nothing of the sort has ever been unearthed.

That China is today receiving vastly more in the way of cultural increments from the Occident than she is giving in return probably no one will dispute. In this sense she is what Dr. Read so aptly calls a "low pressure culture area." A similar condition seems pretty clearly to have prevailed in ancient times also. It is in fact a natural and inescapable result of her geographical position, marginal and peripheral to the far older civilized centers of the Ancient World. What we now see going on in China is the modernization of the last survivor of those great "river-valley" civilizations of antiquity which came into being successively in the basins of the Euphrates-Tigris, the Nile, the Indus and the Huang Ho.

The process of osmosis thus affords us an extremely apt and happy analogy to the one which is now and always has been going on, from prehistoric times down to the present day, in the cultural relations, direct or indirect, which have subsisted between China and the Occident.

CARL WHITING BISHOP

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About Our Authors

Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from letters which we requested from authors about themselves.

Although C. DELISLE BURNS, editor of the *International Journal of Ethics*, was trained at Cambridge and after that spent four years at the University of Rome, he writes that his point of view in political and social theory has not been formed by books but by contact with politicians, trade unionists and civil servants. "During the World War and after I was an official in the [British] Civil Service in different government departments; and after that I worked for a time in the Information Department of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party when the Labor Party, in 1924, was in office as the Government. Following that I was a lecturer in the London School of Economics and lecturer in citizenship in the University of Glasgow, where part of my duty was to lecture to the citizens of Glasgow —shipyard workers, business men and teachers, and to be questioned by them. . . . In the eyes of my son who is at Cambridge I now suffer under the imputation of being out of date. The 'left' movement at Cambridge is not confined to politics! . . . At any rate I agree with the younger generation, from whom I learn 'modern' politics, as to what facts are most important, if not about the policy to be adopted in public affairs." And the younger generation would probably grant that age has not withered him or custom staled the force of his thinking on the problems of society.

AUSTIN H. CLARK "is a biologist officially interested in echinoderms and unofficially interested in pretty much everything else. After graduation from Harvard in 1903 he spent a couple of years in the southern West Indies investigating the local birds. In 1904 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in recognition of work done in Venezuela in 1901. In 1906 he was attached to the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries SS. *Albatross* as acting naturalist, spending a year in the north Pacific, chiefly in Japanese waters. Since 1909, when he joined the staff of the U. S. National Museum, he has been essentially sedentary, devoting himself to writing a monograph on the living Crinoidea and by way of recreation publishing papers on other echinoderms, birds, radio, insects, history, general zoology, publicity and evolution. . . . He was recently Vice-chairman of the American Geophysical Union and is at present a member of the council and director of the Press Service of the A.A.A.S."

DATUS C. SMITH, JR., graduate of Princeton and for six years editor of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, might have called his discussion "The importance of not being earnest" where the characters are universities and the issues those of public moralities. . . . This article is an outcropping of a basic attitude, witness "I take special exception to dogma, alumni who condemn scholarship because they happen to disagree with certain scholars, and scholars who think the only kind of alumnus is that seen cutting capers at football games or draped over a beer barrel at reunions."

BROOKS EMENY, now director of the Foreign Affairs Council, has consistently followed a line of investigation into facts that destroy that old dichotomy "win or lose"—a line of thought familiar in the implications carried by the phrase "the Haves and the Have-nots" (which originated with the book *The Great Powers in World Politics*, on which he and Frank Simonds collaborated). He is the author, also, of *Strategy of Raw Materials: A Study of America in Peace and War*, now used as the basis for a senior course in West Point and the Annapolis Naval Academy and considered so important by the Japanese that their government undertook its translation into the Japanese language. . . . The tempo set by international affairs this summer has been mirrored in his own, in his effort to bring the revision of *The Great Powers in World Politics* up to date.

Poetry is MARK VAN DOREN'S dominant activity though he writes that "very few persons seem to be aware of the fact." Publishers at any rate have recognized the fact, to the extent of bringing out five volumes thus far (which will be followed by *The Last Look and Other Poems* this fall). . . . The pleasure of his students speaks for his courses at Columbia, where he is associate professor of English; and his several volumes of prose testify to the fact that critical studies are not too recessive a characteristic. . . . He was literary editor of *The Nation* 1924-28. . . . "When *The Nation's* movie critic left its staff in 1935 the editors did not know where to look for his successor. I happened to be in the office one day when they were deliberating the matter and half in jest suggested that since I had done nearly every other kind of thing for the paper I might now do this. . . . Thus began my movie life. I had seen many movies years ago, had lost interest in the 1920's, but recently had begun to go again. The habit is now confirmed. I go on the average perhaps four times a week and write an article every other week. Going is easier than writing since the language of movie criticism is

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still unformed; but the effort seems worth while. The best esthetic analysis of the art so far written, and one which promises to be the best for a long time, is Mortimer Adler's *Art and Prudence* (1937). I am much indebted to this book." And we in turn to Mr. Van Doren.

HENRY F. MAY, JR., a this year's graduate of the University of California, where he was editor of the undergraduate literary magazine, contributed "The Next Great Poet" to the Autumm 1936 issue. Though he wisely speaks of his future in terms of probabilities, he definitely plans to continue to write.

Throughout HUGH CABOT'S entire professional life he has been associated with well-established hospital organizations—as staff member of the Massachusetts General Hospital and of the Harvard Medical School, as surgeon with the British in France during the War, and from 1920 to 1930 in a "three-legged" capacity at the University of Michigan (administrative, professorial, and surgical) as professor of surgery and dean of the medical school. He has been senior surgical consultant at the Mayo Clinic since 1930. . . . "I have been in intimate contact with medical students and young physicians all my life. Their difficulties appear to me to have increased during the last fifteen years, but their profession has the very great advantage that one gets work and play at the same time. No physician ever has to take a vacation in order to play. That he should take a vacation in order to keep his feet on the ground is, I think, clear; but his daily life will never be monotonous and will keep him constantly in contact with the most vital problems of human life, and he will rarely be in danger of getting into a rut through mere routine. If he serves his public wisely he will be constantly in contact with a great variety of people and conditions, which should enable him to avoid narrowness and keep him abreast of changing conditions. It is a great profession but a bad trade." "Medical Aid for All," the Winter 1936 number, is ample evidence of his "free, inquiring" spirit.

C. J. DUCASSE says "I have always felt that the only thing important about an author (if anything) is what he has to say and, if that has any merit, it does not matter who it is that says it." Others have valued what he has to say sufficiently to make him chairman of the department of philosophy at Brown University. He looks upon his "ruling passion" objectively. "I hate to read the stuff, with few exceptions. Most of it is so loose and futile. What interests me is the task of showing that philosophy does not inherently have to be the mess it has so largely been, but can be as precise and objective and scientific as inquiry into anything else. And I am writing a book on philosophical method to try to show how. . . . I could be interested in almost anything else. At one time I intended to be an engineer and later I traveled in Mexico selling classical music to the Mexicans." . . . His collection of records is a fine argument for hearing what one wants when one wants it—and lying down—and could easily be combined with his life-long desire to live in a cave.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES, who divides his time between teaching and public service, is now professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin. He has documented his academic interest in the Americas to our South by annual summer trips to Mexico and Central America which take him to the hinterland of spots now popular with tourists—an impeccable blurb for his numerous books dealing with developments in the Caribbean. Although his official asignments took him to Paris from 1922 to 1927 as comercial attaché at the American Embassy, his dominant interest has centered in the Caribbean, where he served as commercial attaché at the American Legation in Cuba and as Ambassador Dwight L. Morrow's appointee to make an economic survey of Mexico. . . . This July he wrote, "For the first time in the last eight years I have failed to get hold of Lombardo himself. He is scurrying from one state to another in strike and organization work. The text of the manuscript is based on C. T. M. publications and on talks with those in charge of C. T. M. national offices."

L. C. HELDERMAN is professor of history in Washington and Lee University in spite of the fact that he was born on the banks of the Wabash. "This article started out as a perfectly innocent essay on an orthodox historical subject. The editors of *The American Scholar*, however, baiting me along with singular cunning, returned the original with the request that I shake loose from inhibitions and write less pompously. [That was not the request, but let it pass.] Unsuspectingly, therefore, the fearful thing was done." . . . This author, "conscious of the limitations of not being born in Virginia," honestly claims not to know whether he is Northern or Southern. Reversing the phrase applied to Mark Twain, he classifies himself as "a Middle-Westerner who has been de-Northernized"—but he keeps his balance by annual treks to the Middle Border.

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